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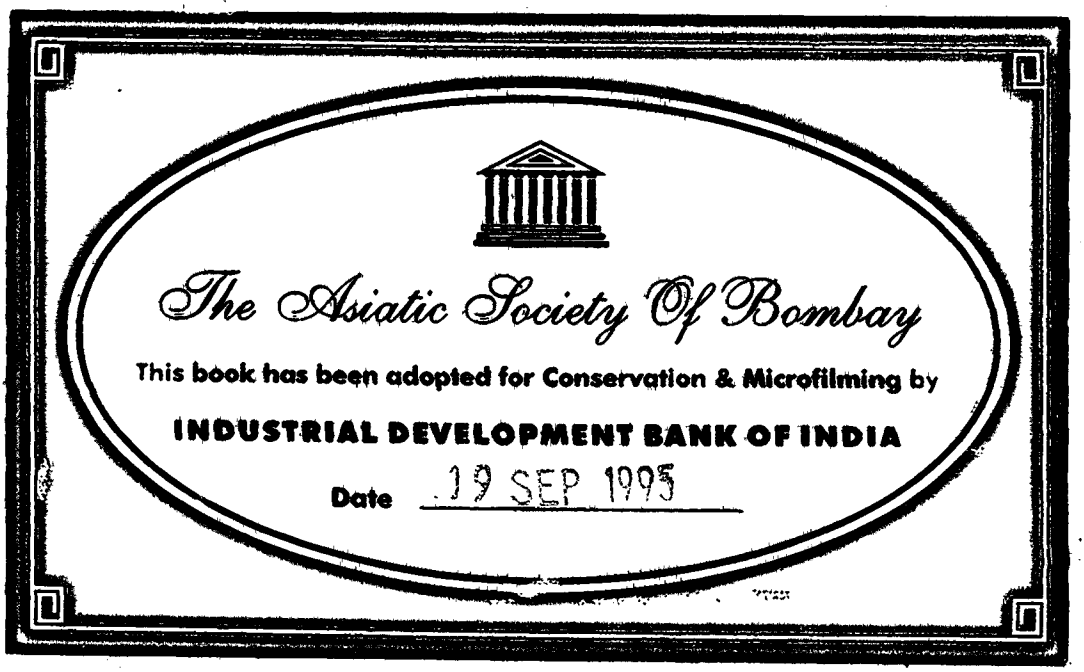

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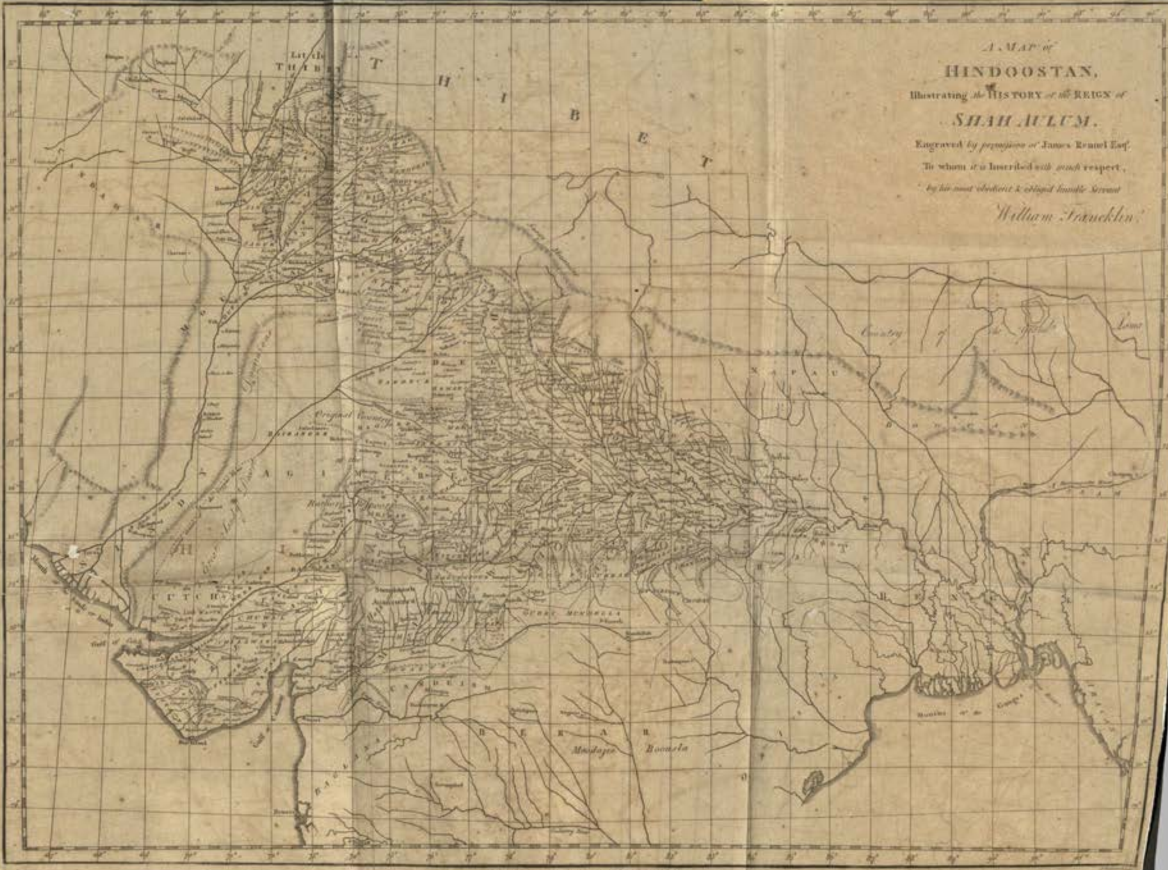
A MAP of
HINDOOSTAN,
Illustrating the HISTORY of the REIGN of
SHAH AULUM.
Engraved by permission of James Rennel Esqr.
To whom it is Inscribed with much respect,
by his most obedient & obliged humble Servant
William Francklin.
THIBET
Little THIBET
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Gulf of Cutch
Mouths of the Ganges
Boonsla
Original Country

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TO

THE HONOURABLE

THE COURT OF DIRECTORS,

FOR CONDUCTING THE AFFAIRS

OF THE

EAST-INDIA COMPANY,

THIS HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN OF SHAH-AULUM

IS INSCRIBED,

WITH THE UTMOST RESPECT,

BY THEIR MOST OBEDIENT

AND FAITHFUL HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN OF SHAH-AULUM,

THE PRESENT EMPEROR OF HINDOSTAUN.

CONTAINING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE COURT OF DELHI, AND THE NEIGHBOURING STATES, DURING A PERIOD OF THIRTY-SIX YEARS;

INTERSPERSED WITH

GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS ON SEVERAL OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF HINDOSTAUN.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING THE FOLLOWING TRACTS, VIZ.

I. An Account of *Modern Delhi*.

II. A Narrative of the late Revolution at *Rampore*, in *Rohilcund*, in 1794.

III. Translation of a Letter, written in the *Persian* Language, from the Prince *Mirza Jewaun Bukht Jehaundar Shah*, eldest Son of the King of *Delhi*, to his Majesty *George* the Third, King of *Great Britain*, in the Year 1786: with a Copy of the Original.

IV. Translation in Verse of an Elegy, written by the King of *Delhi* after the Loss of his Sight.

45908

BY W. FRANCKLIN,

Captain in the Honourable East-India Company's Service, Bengal Establishment; Member of the Asiatic Society; and Author of a Tour to Persia.

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PREFACE.

THE work now offered to the public is the reſult of ſeveral years application, during the author's relaxation from his profeſſional duties, and the avocation of his leiſure hours.

An account of the tranſactions at the court of Delhi during an intereſting and eventful period, and the incidents and occurrences which have marked the decline of power of the race of Timoor under the turbulent reign of the ill-fated Shah-Aulum, (in all probability the laſt of that family

who will ſit on the throne of Hindoſtaun) cannot, it is preſumed, fail to prove acceptable to a Britiſh reader.

A long reſidence in India has afforded the author frequent opportunities of acquiring much local information; and moſt of the geographical remarks were obtained by him on the ſpot, while on a ſurvey, ordered by the Bengal government, through the Doo Ab* and adjacent countries in 1793-4; and on a ſimilar occaſion through the province of Rohilcund in 1795-6.

The peruſal of the ſeveral Perſian manuſcripts named in the Appendix, and particularly the Shah Aulum Nameh, (a hiſtory of the reign of the preſent king) written by Gholaum Ali, a learned

* A country lying betwixt the rivers Ganges and Jumna.

native, afforded the author ample materials for relating ſuch tranſactions as took place within the authority and influence of the court at Delhi: and to his friends, on various occaſions, he is happy to acknowledge his grateful obligations.

To Major Charles Reynolds, ſurveyor-general of the Bombay eſtabliſhment, Mr. Johnſtone of Lucknow, Major Kirkpatrick, Colonel Palmer, and Captain Salkeld, of the Bengal eſtabliſhment, he begs leave to offer his hearty acknowledgements for the readineſs with which they ſupplied him with a variety of intereſting documents for the preſent work.

Such are the materials from which the Hiſtory of the Reign of Shah-Aulum has been compiled; conſcious, that notwithſtanding the pains and care which have been beſtowed on it to attain perfection,

numerous errors and inaccuracies may have crept in, the author truſts that the authenticity of the matter it contains, will, in a great meaſure, counterbalance its defects, and he therefore cheerfully delivers it to the public, with the diffidence naturally attendant on a firſt attempt in this arduous branch of literature.

London,
Bedford Street, Bedford Square,
March 15, 1798.

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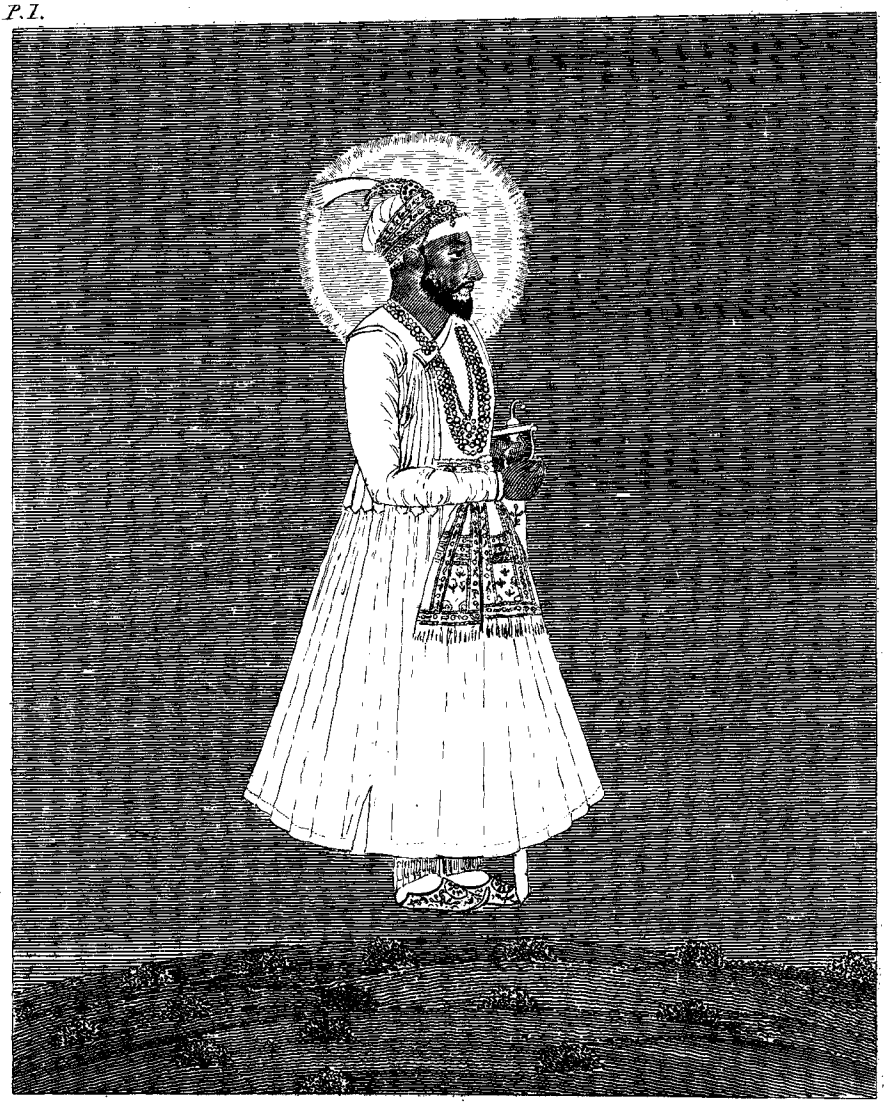
P.I.



Shah Aulum.

From an Original in the Possession of Will.m Ouseley Esq.r

HISTORY

OF THE

EMPEROR SHAH-AULUM.

CHAP. I.

A Narrative of the principal Occurrences and Revolutions of the Court of SHAHJEHANABAD *from the Reign of* MAHMUD SHAH.

IN the laſt year of the reign of Mahmud Shah (A. D. 1747) Ahmud Shah*, the king of the Abdallees, invaded Lahoor, which province he claimed by inheritance from Nadir Shah †. Mahmud Shah ſent a large army againſt him under the command of his ſon, Ahmud Shah, attended by the vizir Cummer-o'deen Cawn, and his ſon, Mohim

* Ahmud Shah Dooranee, or Abdallee; Shahiſhahan, (or King of Kings).

† By the treaty made between Nadir Shah and Mahmud Shah, the former was to poſſeſs all the countries lying weſt of the river Attoc, beſides the revenues of the provinces of Lahoor, Guzzerat, Multan, and Cabul, on the other ſide, which were to be collected by the officers of the Hindoſtaun court.

ool Moolk. The Abdallee was worſted, and obliged to fly to his own country. Cummer-o'deen being ſlain in this war, his ſon, Mohim ool Moolk, was left Subahdar of the province of Lahoor, and the prince returned to Shahjehanabad. On his arrival at Panneeputt *, he received the news of his father's death, and immediately cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king. He conferred the vizârut on Munsûr Allee Cawn, the ſubahdar of Owd, who conſtituted Gazooddeen Cawn, buxey of the empire. The new king being arrived at the city, gave himſelf up to his pleaſures, leaving the affairs of ſtate to his vizir, who ruled with abſolute authority. The nobles, jealous of his power, and diſpleaſed with his adminiſtration, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and reſolved to raiſe Intezâmo Dowla † to the vizarut. The king, who had great cauſe to be offended at the conduct of his miniſter towards him, joined in the deſign. The vizir diſcovering the ſtorm which was brewing againſt him, determined to evade it by depoſing the king. He accordingly ſurrounded the palace ſuddenly with an armed force; but not being able immediately to effect his attempt, Gazooddeen Cawn, who was the leader of the oppoſition, and had already levied a conſiderable force, had time to come to the king's reſcue. A war enſued, in which, after various ſucceſs, the vizir was at length worſted, and retired into the country of the Jauts, who were his friends. Intezam o' Dowla was now created vizir in the room of Munſur Allee Cawn, and dreading, perhaps, the growing influence of Gazooddeen

* Forty-two coſe, or 85 miles, from Shahjehanabad.

† The youngeſt ſon of Cummer-o'deen Cawn, and uncle, by the mother's ſide, to Gazooddeen Cawn.

Cawn, perſuaded the king to accept of the mediation of the Jauts in favour of Munſur Allee Cawn, who ſued for pardon. This was accordingly granted him, and a khillut, or dreſs of honour, with a ſhookka*, or letter under the privy ſeal, pardoning his paſt offences, and confirming him in his ſubaſhip, was ſent to him from the king. Gazooddeen Cawn reſenting that the king ſhould take ſuch a ſtep without his concurrence or knowledge, and at a time when he was near reaping the fruits of his ſucceſſes, exaſperated at the vizir for his ingratitude, and with the Jauts for having interfered, reſolved upon revenge. Leaving the purſuit of Munſur Allee Cawn, he invaded the country of the Jauts, and ſubdued them intirely excepting only a ſtrong fortreſs which they poſſeſſed in the borders of the country adjacent to Acbarabad. As he had no artillery with him, and the place could not be taken without it, unleſs by famine, Abdul Mejeed Cawn, one of his officers, was diſpatched to Shahjehanabad to requeſt that the royal artillery might be ſent him; but the vizir refuſed to part with it, and ſhut up all the bullocks and elephants within the walls of the palace, to prevent their being ſeized by force, which was actually intended. Incenſed as Gazooddeen Cawn was at this affront, he was not yet in a ſufficient capacity to reſent it.—Malhar Row, a Marhatta chief, being at that time in the country of the Rajepoots, where he had been employed in reducing their Rajah Jeyſing, Gazooddeen Cawn invited him to his aſſiſtance; which the Marhatta inſtantly complied with, being (beſides the advantages which muſt naturally accrue to the Marhatta power from theſe diviſions) ſtrongly urged to take the part of Gazooddeen Cawn, from

* When ſent by any of the princes, it is called Rukaa.

the hatred which he bore to the Jauts, who had ſlain his ſon. He accordingly joined Gazooddeen Cawn with his forces; and a ſolemn treaty was made between them, Malhar Row ſwearing to regard Gazooddeen Cawn as his ſon, and the latter to look upon the Marhatta as his father. Every thing being concerted between them, they began their march towards the capital, and were met in the way by the king and vizir, who gave them battle, and were defeated. The conquerors proceeded to the city, whither the king and the vizir had retired, and had ſhut themſelves within the walls of the palace with a few followers, their laſt, but poor, reſource. The chief officers of the city, whom Gazooddeen Cawn's good fortune had made his friends, readily obeyed an order from him to ſurround the palace till his arrival, when he commanded the wretched king to be deprived of his ſight, and impriſoned together with his miniſter. A prince of the name of Azeezooddeen, being the next in deſcent of the race of Timur, was taken out of the palace, and proclaimed king by the title of Aulumgheer the Second, Gazooddeen Cawn aſſuming the vizarut. This happened about the month of November 1755.

The new vizir being thoroughly eſtabliſhed in his authority, Malhar Row returned to his own country, leaving Junkoojee, one of his generals, and a conſiderable part of his army, to prevent freſh inſurrections, and to collect the revenues aſſigned as a recompence for his late ſervices.

The king, who was raiſed to the throne only as an inſtrument of Gazooddeen Cawn's ambition, was kept by him in a ſtate of the

moſt ſlaviſh dependance, being ſurrounded by the vizir's creatures, and not allowed to ſtir out without his leave. In order to extricate himſelf from ſuch a confinement, he privately wrote to the Abdallee, deſiring him to come to his aſſiſtance. Invitations were ſent him at the ſame time by Munſur Allee Cawn, the Jauts, and the Rohillas. The Abdallee readily embraced an occaſion that promiſed him ſuch evident advantages. An accident happened at the ſame time that greatly favoured the enterprize. Mohim ool Moolk, the ſubahdar of Lahoor, received a fall from his horſe in hunting, which put an end to his life. His begum, a lady of great ſpirit, had intereſt enough amongſt the chiefs of the province to procure their nomination of her to the ſubahdarree in the place of her deceaſed huſband.

The affairs of the empire were in this ſtate, when the Abdallee invaded it. The Marhattas were maſters of the greateſt part of Hindoſtaun; a nominal king ſat on the throne; the adminiſtration was uſurped by a man who derived his influence and eſtabliſhment entirely from a foreign power; the chiefs of the empire had already declared their reſolution of joining the invader; and Lahoor, the key of Hindoſtaun, was governed by a woman.

The Abdallee having marched as far as Lahoor, ſummoned the princeſs to ſurrender; and upon her refuſal, beſieged the place.—After a very gallant defence, he at length became maſter of the city and of the princeſs's perſon, whom he treated with great reſpect, beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on her valour and conduct, as well as on the virtues of her late huſband; and adopting her formally as

his daughter, confirmed her in the ſubahdarree. He left however a naib with a ſmall force at the city, and proceeded towards Shahjehanabad. The vizir, unable to cope with ſuch an adverſary, went out with the king and all the nobles, and met the Abdallee at Panneeputt, from whence he was conducted in great ſtate to Shahjehanabad.

As ſoon as he had entered the city, letters were diſpatched to all the ſtates of the empire; and the vackeels reſiding at the court were all ſummoned to pay obedience to the King of Kings, and to deliver a tribute ſuitable to the income of each ſeveral province. All obeyed the ſummons excepting the Jauts, againſt whom he reſolved to turn his arms. Before he left the city, he removed Gazooddeen Cawn from the vizarut; and leaving the king the choice of his own miniſters, that prince conſtituted his eldeſt ſon, Aallee Gowher, naib of the empire, a poſt equal in power to the vizarut, but differing in the name, in reſpect to the quality of the poſſeſſor.

Leaving a garriſon for the defence of the city, and officers to collect the revenues, the Abdallee marched out againſt the Jauts, who were well prepared for his reception. In two engagements (probably not general) the Jauts had the better. Gazooddeen Cawn, who attended the camp under a guard of Naſſuckchees, repreſented to the Abdallee, that if he would entruſt him with the command of the van of his army, he would anſwer with his life for the ſucceſs. It is not related what arguments were uſed to perſuade the Abdallee to accept of a propoſal ſeemingly ſo chimerical and dangerous. It is ſaid he conſented; and Gazooddeen Cawn leading the army, at-

tacked the Jauts with ſucceſs equal to his promiſes. It is certain that they were entirely defeated, and obliged to ſhut themſelves up within the walls of their fortreſs, and to ſue for peace; which, upon their ſubmiſſion, and the payment of a large ſum of money, was granted. The Abdallee, pleaſed with the bravery and conduct of Gazooddeen Cawn, reſolved to reward his ſervices by reſtoring him to the vizarut, and wrote to the king his intention, requiring him to comply with it. The king unwilling to diſplace his own ſon for the ſake of a man whom he hated and feared, remonſtrated againſt ſuch a proceeding. To remonſtrate was all he could do; but his haughty patron diſdaining an appearance of oppoſition to his will, immediately ſent his Naſſuckchees to ſeize and bring before him the four ſons of the king, and ſeizing the cullumdaun* from Allee Gowher, gave it to Gazoodden Cawn. The princes remained with him in the hands of the Naſſuckchees. About this time news arrived, that the king of Balkh had invaded the territories of the Abdallee. This obliged him to return home. Leaving therefore Nejeeb Cawn, the Rohilla, who by his recommendation had been appointed buxey of the Empire, with the charge of collecting his revenues, he departed with his army, and an immenſe treaſure, the fruits of his great ſucceſſes. He had no ſooner paſſed the frontier of Hindoſtaun, than Gazooddeen Cawn, who now became as abſolute as before, of his own authority diſſolved the office of collector, which the Abdallee had conferred on Nejeeb Cawn, and deprived him likewiſe of the buxey-gheeree, which poſt he conferred on Ahmud Cawn of the Bungeſh race.

* The ſtandiſh, the badge of the vizârut.

Nejeeb Cawn, upon this quitted the court, and retired to his government at Seharunpore.

The three youngeſt ſons of Aullumgheer, who were enlarged upon the Abdallee's departure, returned to the royal palace: but *Allee Gowher* * not chuſing to put himſelf in the power of his profeſſed enemy, fled to Jedger, his jagheer, and raiſed forces to defend himſelf againſt any attempts upon his perſon. The vizir entreated him, with profeſſions of the greateſt attachment, to return; and the king was compelled to ſet his hand to the ſame invitation; but without effect. At length the vizir ſolemnly ſwearing upon the Koran, to attempt nothing againſt his life and perſon, he ſubmitted and came back to the city. A houſe without the walls of the palace was allotted him for his preſent reſidence; and the vizir frequently ſolicited him to go and dwell in the palace with his father and the reſt of the royal family. But the prince, knowing that the vizir ſought only to get him into his power, evaded the ſnare by various pretences. This artifice failing, the vizir had recourſe to violence, and one morning by day break the prince ſuddenly found himſelf ſurrounded by an armed force. With the few attendants and guards which were about his perſon he ſtood upon his defence, and repulſed the firſt attacks; after which the aſſailants ſurrounded the palace, waiting either freſh orders, or ſuccour from the vizir. The prince ſeeing no hopes but in flight, found means to gain over Mehdee Coollee Cawn, who guarded one of the avenues to his palace; and fighting his way through the other

* The preſent Emperor

guards, made his eſcape out of the city. Eetal Row, a Marhatta general, lay encamped on the oppoſite banks of the river Jumna. To him the prince fled for protection, and was kindly received, Eetal Row ſwearing by the water of the Ganges not to betray him, or deliver him up to the vizir.

The Marhatta continued faithful to his engagements; and notwithſtanding the repeated ſolicitations of the vizir, kept the prince in his camp five or ſix months.

At length, fearing either a rupture with the vizir, or that he might attempt to ſurpriſe the prince whilſt he remained ſo near, he perſuaded him to return to Jedger. The prince ſaw the neceſſity of taking ſuch a ſtep, and conſented. He was accordingly conducted by a ſtrong eſcort from the Marhatta to that country. Here he continued a few months; but not judging himſelf ſafe in ſuch a ſituation, he accepted of an invitation from Nejeeb Cawn, and repaired to him at Sehaurunpore. Nejeeb Cawn allotted him a monthly income of 50,000 rupees for his expences; and treated him with all the reſpect which his birth, and the ſimilarity of their fortunes, naturally demanded from him. He had not forgot the injury which he ſuffered from Gazooddeen Cawn; and thought he had now a favourable opportunity to reſent it. He accordingly ſent letters to Seyed Oolla Cawn, Hafiz Rahmut Cawn, Doondee Cawn, and the other Rohilla chiefs, to Rajah Soorujmul, the chief of the Jauts, and Sujaa o Dowla; inviting them to join him in redreſſing the cauſe of the injured prince, and freeing the king from the tyranny of the vizir; but the dread of the Marhattas obliged them to decline engaging in

ſo dangerous a ſcheme. Fruſtrated in his deſigns, and unable to maintain the prince any longer, or to protect him againſt the vizir, who was actually preparing to ſend a Marhatta army againſt him, Nejeeb Cawn perſuaded him to ſeek for refuge with the nabob Shujaa o Dowla. In conſequence of this advice, the prince, after a twelvemonth's reſidence with Nejeeb Cawn, took leave of him, and marched with a ſlender train to Lucnow. He was received by Shujaa o Dowla with the greateſt honours, and preſented with elephants, horſes, tents, and all manner of neceſſaries ſuitable to his ſtate, with a preſent (a nezeranna) of 3 lacks of rupees. The power of the vizir was too firmly eſtabliſhed, and the Marhatta name too formidable, to admit of the nabob's aſſiſting the prince openly, unſupported as he muſt be by any other power. To entertain him at his court could anſwer no end, and muſt neceſſarily draw upon himſelf the reſentment of the vizir. All the ſervice he could afford him was to ſupport him privately, and wait a fitter opportunity to act more publickly in his favour. The beſt expedient, therefore, that immediately occurred, and which promiſed the ſureſt ſucceſs, was to attempt the conqueſt of Bengal. All appearances concurred to favour ſuch a deſign. The province of Bahar belonged to him as the lawful Subahdar, a preſcriptive right of the eldeſt ſon of the king. Jaffer Allee Cawn, the Subahdar of Bengal, and actual governor of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, had been raiſed to that dignity by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, by whoſe influence alone he continued to poſſeſs it. His government was generally diſliked. His behaviour had drawn on him the hatred of the greateſt part of the country. His Jematdars, moſt of whom were once his equals, could not brook the diſtance with which they

were now treated, and were equally obnoxious to him from the little reſpect which they put on in their behaviour to him. The Seapoys, a numerous rabble, were in arrears even from the pay due to them in the time of Serajah Dowla: the Zemindars of both provinces were ready for a revolt whenever they could do it with ſafety; and had already appeared in arms againſt the Nabob in that of Bahar, the revenues of which were inſufficient to defray its own current expences. With theſe advantages a more powerful argument yet concurred, which was, the name of the prince, and the veneration which the perſon of the heir apparent of the empire naturally drew from the ſubjects of ſo deſpotic a ſtate; and which was now heightened by his diſtreſſes. The conqueſt of thoſe provinces being thus enſured, would facilitate the attainment of his grand object, the freedom of his father, and the ſecurity of his own right to the ſucceſſion, by the acquiſition of ſo great a revenue, the increaſe of his force, and the influence this ſucceſs would give to his name.

Every thing being concerted for effecting this enterpriſe, Shujaa Dowla aſſiſted him with a party of his own forces under the command of his kinſman, Mahmud Coolly Cawn, the Subahdar of Allahabad. The prince ſolemnly ſwore to beſtow the vizarut upon Shujaa Dowla, whenever he came to the throne, as a reward for his loyalty, and departed.

Towards the concluſion of the year 1758, the prince croſſed the Currumnaſſa *, and entered the province of Bahar; where he was

* A river which divides the province of Bahar from the Zemindaree of Benares.

ſoon joined by a number of malecontents, and the diſbanded Seapoys of Jaffer Allee Cawn. The ſucceſs of his firſt attempt is too well known to need a particular relation. Repulſed in his attacks upon the city of Patna, and not daring to ſtand the approach of Colonel Clive, whoſe name, and the rapidity with which he marched to meet the prince, already ſeemed to denounce his certain defeat, he retired with precipitation back to the province of Allahabad; whither it was deemed, in the then-unſettled ſituation of the Nabob's affairs, imprudent to follow him, as a rupture in that caſe muſt unavoidably have enſued with Shujaa Dowla. After this diſappointment, he made a propoſal of throwing himſelf upon the protection of the Engliſh; which was rejected. He therefore remained at Mukkunpoor, on the borders of the province of Allahabad, forſaken by moſt of his followers, and waiting, without any determined plan, for what a better fortune ſhould throw in his way.

Whilſt the prince was purſuing his projects in Bengal, a ſtorm broke out which threatened to overwhelm his ancient friend and protector, Nejeeb Cawn, againſt whom the vizir ſent Junkoojee, the Marhatta general, with a large force. At the ſame time Dettajee Toppul, another Marhatta chief, was detached againſt Lahoor, which he reduced, and drove the Abdallee's Naib out of the country.—Nejeeb Cawn finding himſelf incapable of any long oppoſition againſt ſo formidable an enemy, called his old allies, Sujaa Dowla, and the Rohilla chiefs, to his aſſiſtance; and at the ſame time ſolicited the Abdallee to return; who was likewiſe invited by the other leaders of the ſame party.

Before his allies could join him, the Marhattas had entered his country. He met them, and gained ſome inconſiderable advantages over them, ſufficient however to gain time till he was ſtrengthened by the junction of his friends, who were already on their march towards him. Junkoojee, fearing leſt his enemies ſhould be too powerful for him, and hearing of the arrival of the Abdallee at Lahoor, ſent advice to the vizir of his ſituation, and deſired him to come to his aſſiſtance. The vizir replied, that he was unable to obey the ſummons, having no forces with him ſufficient to be of any ſervice, nor money to levy others. Junkoojee immediately ſent him five lacks, with which the vizir now aſſembled his people together, and prepared to take the field.

Fearing to leave the king behind him at the city, and ſuſpecting that he had leagued with his enemies, and indended to reſtore Intezamo Dowla in his abſence, he deſired the king to accompany him on the expedition, which he refuſed; and the vizir in conſequence reſolved to rid himſelf at once of his fears by putting him to death. This bloody reſolution being taken, he affected to be ſatisfied with the king's excuſes, marched out of the city, and encamped a few coſe beyond it; where he waited the execution of his plot, which was effected in the following manner:

Ballabaſſrow, an emiſſary of the vizir, went to the king, and informed him that a fakeer of great ſanctity had taken up his quarters at the tower of Feroz Shah; and partly by perſuaſion, and partly by force, carried the deluded king to ſee him, and in the way cauſed him to be murdered. The vizir having thus accompliſhed his exe-

crable deſign, ordered the palace to be plundered, and the ſons and relations of the deceaſed monarch to be ſtripped of all their jewels, which were converted into money for his urgent neceſſities. Mehdee Collee Cawn and Coja Buſſent were left with the charge of the kella, or fort. The former, by the directions of his maſter, took a grandſon of Cambukſh, the youngeſt ſon of Aurengzeeb, out of the palace, and proclaimed him king, by the name of Shahjehan the Second.

The vizir now proceeded towards Junkoojee, and joined him about the ſame time that Nejeeb Cawn's Rohilla allies were arrived to his aſſiſtance; and Nejeeb Cawn reached the borders of Nejeeb Cawn's country, where he met with a detachment of Marhattas that had been ſent round to cut off the ſupplies of proviſions coming to the Rohilla camp, and put them to the rout. After this he propoſed an accommodation between the contending parties; and a negotiation enſued, which he contrived to protract till the Abdallee were advanced as near as Panneeputt, when the vizir was obliged to march back with precipitation to prevent their ſeizing the city; and Shuja Dowla, who thought his preſence no longer neceſſary, returned to his province. The vizir cauſed a ſtrong entrenchment to be thrown acroſs the road leading from Panneeputt to Shahjehanabad, and encamped behind it, waiting the approach of the enemy. In the mean time Dettajee Toppul, whom the Abdallee had lately driven from Lahoor, was detached with part of the army to obſtruct the enemy's march, and fell in with the van, commanded by Jehan Cawn, by whom he was attacked, and his army routed, himſelf being ſlain in the flight. Jehan Cawn continued his march, whilſt the Abdallee,

quitting the direct road by the advice of Nejeeb Cawn, turned off to the left, in order to favour the junction of the Rohillas, who were haſtening to him through the defiles of Coonjpoora. Then paſſing by the vizir, he ſuddenly arrived at the capital, of which he took poſſeſſion without oppoſition.

The vizir, intimidated by this unexpected ſtroke, durſt not ſtand the enemy, but fled to Akbarabad. The Abdallee leaving Yacoob Allee Cawn to command in the city, and to put a ſtop to the diſorders committed there by his people, purſued the vizir and cut to pieces many of the Marhattas and Mogul troops in their flight.—From Akbarabad the vizir fled to the Jauts, with whom he had made peace a little before the entrance of the Abdallee. The conquering army continued the purſuit to that city, and, taking poſſeſſion of it, halted there. The vizir and Junkoojee ſent advices of the unhappy turn of their affairs to Malhar Row, and entreated him to come to their relief; he inſtantly obeyed the ſummons, and marched to them. During this time the Abdallee having recruited his people, left Akbarabad, and advanced towards the enemy, who declined coming to action, and ſhut themſelves within a ſtrong fortreſs belonging to the Jauts.

Notwithſtanding the expected union of Malhar Row, the vizir ſaw that he ſhould ſtill be in little capacity of withſtanding the power of the Abdallee. He, therefore, ſent a vackeel to the Rohillas to deſire their mediation with the Abdallee for obtaining a peace; and if they approved of the motion, that Hafiz Rahmut Cawn might come and ſettle the conditions. The Rohillas con-

ſented, and ſent Hafiz Rahmut Cawn to the vizir. The demands of the Abdallee were limited to two krore * of rupees, which the vizir conſented to pay, offering to give thirty lacks upon the ſpot, and aſſignments on the country for the remainder. At this interval Malhar Row arrived, and annulled the treaty. Both armies therefore prepared to renew the war. The vizir continued in the fortreſs, and the Marhattas marched out to meet the Abdallee.—Malhar Row commanded the van of the former, Jehan Cawn led on the latter. They met the Marhattas, were defeated, and fled to Jeypore, a country of Rajepoots, governed by Raja Jeyſing; the vizir followed.

The ſeaſon being far advanced, and the Abdallees uſed to a more northern climate, being unable to ſuſtain the ſevere heats which now came on, the army returned to Annoopſhehr, a place on the borders of Nejeeb Cawn's territories, and not far diſtant from the capital, where quarters were provided for them by Nejeeb Cawn, on the north-eaſt ſide of the Jumna. On their way they beſieged the fort of Sabitgher, and took it

From Annoopſhehr the Abdallee ſent his Naſſuckchees with letters to Allee Gowher and Shuja Dowla, offering the throne to the former, and the vizarut to the latter. They arrived firſt with Shuja Dowla, who diſmiſſed them with letters of his own to the prince, preſſing him to ſeize the occaſion, and return to Hindoſtaun.

* Two million ſterling.

This prince had, notwithſtanding his defeat laſt year, thought himſelf in a capacity this to renew his attempts upon the province of Bahar; and being invited by Camgar Cawn, the Zemindar of Mey, who had lately eſcaped from impriſonment, and other male-contents, advanced as far as Safferam, when he heard of his father's tragical end. He immediately cauſed a throne to be made, and aſſumed the imperial dignity, taking upon him the name of Shah-Aulum. He wrote to all the potentates of the empire, requiring them to acknowledge his title; and ſent a khillut for the vizarut to Shuja Dowla. That Nabob accepted of the honours conferred upon him, ſtruck coins in the name of Shah-Aulum, and wrote to the Abdallee and the Rohillas in behalf of the new king.

Soon after the Naſſuckchees arrived at the prince's camp with the letters from the Abdallee and Shuja Dowla. He returned a ſuitable anſwer to the former; and to the latter he replied, that after the reduction of Bahar and Bengal, he would return to take poſſeſſion of the throne; but that he would never depart till he had wiped off the diſgrace which his honour had ſuffered in thoſe provinces.

Shuja Dowla, who waited only to learn the prince's reſolutions, as ſoon as he had received his anſwer, left him to proſecute his deſigns on Bengal, and ſet out with his forces for the camp of the Abdallee, who had ſent him repeated ſummons to attend him. As ſoon as he was near Annoopſhehr, the Abdallee ſent forwards his own vizir to meet him, and bring him in ſtate to the camp; where he was received as the vizir of the new king, and preſented in perſon with a khillut for that purpoſe.

Malhar Row, after his defeat, had written to Ballajee, repreſenting the neceſſity of his coming himſelf in perſon, or ſending a large army to retrieve the Marhatta power in Hindoſtaun. Ballajee was then at war with Salabut Jung, the ſubahdar of Deccan, whom he had reduced to great diſtreſs. But upon the news of Malhar's ill ſucceſs, he accepted of a compoſition from Salabut Jung, who ceded to him a conſiderable part of the province of Aurungabad; and a peace was concluded between them.

Ballajee being now at liberty to purſue the war with greater vigor in Hindoſtaun, raiſed a vaſt army of 100,000 men, and ſent it under the command of his own ſon, Biſſwaſſrow. His illegitimate brother, Shemſheer Bahader, Sedaſhewrow, Ibraheem Cawn Gardee, Antajee Mankeſer, Appajee, Jeyajee, and Rogojee, were the principal men that attended Biſſwaſſrow. They proceeded directly to the country of the Jauts, and were met by the vizir, Malhar, and the Jauts, on the banks of the river Beea. The river Jumna, which lay between the two armies, being ſwelled to a great height by the rains, they were obliged on each ſide to remain inactive.

During this interval Biſſwaſſrow propoſed to the Abdallee a peace upon the ſame conditions which were formerly made with Nadir Shah. The Abdallee rejected theſe offers with diſdain, and on his part demanded that the Marhattas, whom he reproachfully ſtiled the Zemindars of Deccan, ſhould return to their own territories, nor advance beyond the river Nerbudda, which was to be the boundary of their juriſdiction: that his own power ſhould extend as far as Panneeputt and Carnal: and that the revenues of the empire ſhould

be collected by the officers of the crown, who ſhould duly pay the Marhattas their chout; in the collection of which the Marhattas ſhould have no concern. As neither ſide would recede from their own conditions, the negotiations had no other effect than to take up the time which they could not make uſe of to a better advantage.

The city of Shahjehanabad was ſtill in the hands of Yacoob Allee Cawn, the governor left in it by the Abdallee with only 2000 men, of which about 500 were Abdallees. Biſſwaſſrow no ſooner learnt the weak ſtate of the garriſon, than he beſieged the city, of which he ſoon became maſter, and diſmiſſed Yacoob Allee Cawn, without any other injury than ſtripping him and his people of their effects. He was no ſooner maſter of the city, than he diſpoſſeſſed all the officers appointed by the vizir, and treated him with ſo much neglect, that he left the army in diſguſt, and encamped with a few followers at Carna-pahree, about two coſe from the Marhatta camp.

It is probable that at this time they had entered into private engagements with Shuja Dowla, to acknowledge him vizir. He arrived ſhortly after at the camp of the Abdallee; who, by the advice of the Rohillas, ſent him to the Marhattas with freſh propoſals of peace; and the Jauts were deſired to act as mediators. He was received in the character of vizir, and with marks of friendſhip, by Biſſwaſſrow; who immediately diſmiſſed Rajah Dileer Sing, Gazooddeen Cawn's vackeel, from his preſence and from the camp.—Gazooddeen Cawn being thus rejected by all parties, and deprived

of all hopes of redreſs, retired into the country of the Jauts, who afforded him a ſubſiſtence.

The particulars of the negotiation carried on by Shuja Dowla are not well known. Two months were conſumed in various conferences, without any nearer proſpect of peace. It appears, however, that he was not altogether idle, from what paſſed during this interval. Each of the powers that ſided with the Abdallee were guided by their own ſeparate intereſts. In one thing they all concurred, which was an univerſal enmity to Gazooddeen Cawn. Beſides this, Shuja Dowla had other material points in view, the ſucceſs of the cauſe in which he had engaged with the prince Allee Gowher, and his own confirmation in the vizarut. Gazooddeen Cawn was already removed. The prince's title was publicly acknowledged by the Abdallee: nothing was wanting to eſtabliſh his authority but the concurrence of the Marhattas. To obtain this ſeems to have been the buſineſs of Shuja Dowla's private conferences with the Marhattas. The reſult was, that Biſſwaſſrow declared Allee Gowher king, and placed his ſon on the koorſee *, as regent of the empire, during his father's abſence. One condition on which this appointment was made, was a preſent of five lacks to Biſſwaſſrow, for which the mother of the young prince gave her jewels in pledge to the Marhattas. This ſtep could not but alarm the Abdallee, who was incenſed againſt Shuja Dowla as the promoter of it. Another circumſtance which happened preſently after, ſerved to add to his ſuſpicion of Shuja Dowla. Coonjpoora is a ſtrong fortified city belonging to the Rohillas, ſituated about ſeven days journey to the

* A chair of ſtate.

north-weſt of Shahjehanabad. Abdooſſummut Cawn, the Phojdar of Panneeputt, reſided here on the part of the Abdallee, and Kootub Cawn on that of the Rohillas. The Marhattas marched againſt this place, intending to beſiege it, and were met by Abdooſſummut Cawn, and Kootub Cawn, who gave them battle, but were defeated, and retreated to the city. The Marhattas, without allowing them time to recover from the effects of their defeat, entered the place by ſtorm, and put the garriſon and inhabitants to the ſword, and became maſters of the city, wherein was found an immenſe booty. The two chiefs were taken priſoners, and ſent to Biſſwaſſrow, who ſlew Abdooſſummut Cawn, and impriſoned the Rohilla. The Abdallee no ſooner heard of this loſs, than he flew into the moſt violent rage. The river which was ſtill very high preventing him from attacking his enemies, he vented his reſentment on Shuja Dowla, whom he accuſed as a traitor and an incendiary, and commanded him to depart from his army. By the interceſſion of the Rohillas, he was ſoon prevailed upon to pardon and recall him; but as his fidelity was ſtill ſuſpected, he would not ſuffer him to encamp within his lines. The loſs of a place of ſo much conſequence, and the mortification of ſeeing his enemy carry on his ſucceſſes with impunity, determined him upon immediate revenge. He mounted his elephant, and rode directly into the river, reſolved to diſcover if poſſible ſome part where it was fordable; but the water, wherever he attempted a paſſage, roſe higher than the elevated trunk of the elephant. Impatient of longer delay, he commanded his army to follow him, and puſhing into the midſt of the ſtream, he ſwam over to the oppoſite bank. His troops, animated by the example of their leader, did the ſame, and in a few

hours the whole army was ſafely landed on the other ſide of the river, with very little loſs, which fell chiefly to the ſhare of Shuja Dowla.

As ſoon as he had ranged his forces in order, he marched without delay to the capital, hoping to ſeize it before the Marhattas could arrive to its relief; but he found it ſo well garriſoned, that, having no artillery, he was obliged to deſiſt from the attempt, and turn his attention towards Biſſwaſſrow, who was advancing towards him. They met, and the Marhattas were defeated. It does not appear that this engagement was very deciſive. Some accounts even make it terminate in favour of the Marhattas; but this is hardly probable. From this period nothing of conſequence happened till the beginning of January. Both armies continued in their encampment. The Abdallee at Schaleh, four coſe eaſt of Panneeputt, and the Marhattas at Segher, cloſe to Panneeputt. About the month of December a reinforcement of 15,000 men joined the Abdallee, and the Marhattas received a ſupply of treaſure, ſaid to be thirty-ſeven lacks, conducted by an eſcort of 8,000 men from Deccan. The Marhattas were now ſo much inferior to the Abdallee and his allies, that they durſt not ſtir from their camp, but kept themſelves confined within a ſtrong entrenchment; whilſt the Abdallee remained maſter of the country round them, and cut off all their ſupplies of proviſions.

Deleel Cawn Rohilla, the Zemindar of Coonjpoora, the capital of which ſtill remained in poſſeſſion of the Marhattas, marched into that country, and ſacked all the villages, from whence the enemy might receive any ſupplies; whilſt other detachments committed the

like ravages in other parts; the Marhattas all the time lying inactive, nor daring to oppoſe them. They were at length reduced to the greateſt ſtreights; their proviſion was wholly conſumed, and the people and cattle daily waſting away by famine. In this diſtreſs, which every day rendered more deplorable, Biſſwaſſrow aſſembled the chiefs, and it was unanimouſly reſolved to truſt to the deſperate hazard of a battle, rather than thus to periſh by hunger. This being determined on, the whole army marched out of the entrenchments, and on the morning of the 14th of January advanced towards the enemy. They were now within two coſe of the camp of the Abdallee, when he marched out to receive them. When both armies came in ſight of each other, they cannonaded one another till towards noon, when they came to cloſe engagement with their battle-axes. The fight was maintained with great obſtinacy, and various ſucceſs, till towards the cloſe of the day, when the advantage ſeemed to be on the ſide of the Marhattas, who had penetrated even to the Abdallee's camp. At this juncture, a body of Fackeers in the ſervice of Shuja Dowla ruſhed in amongſt the foremoſt of the Marhattas with ſuch intrepidity and ſucceſs, as gave a turn to the battle. The Marhattas, unable to withſtand ſo fierce a conflict, gave back. The aſſailants purſued their ſucceſs, and ſoon after the rout became univerſal. Many thouſands of the Marhattas were ſlain in the fight, and in the purſuit, which was continued the next day; and the reſt, diſperſed about the country, were maſſacred and plundered by the Zemindars, or eſcaped and joined by degrees their ſeveral commanders. Shemſheer Bahader, and Ibraheem Cawn Gardee, with moſt of his people, being on foot, were ſlain. Shedaſhewrow, the principal officer under Biſſwaſſrow, poiſoned his

women to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror, and fled towards Narnowl in the road to Deccan. Biſſwaſſrow, *Malhar Row, Junkojee, and other chiefs of note, are ſaid to have been amongſt the ſlain; but this is not certain. All accounts concur in repreſenting the Abdallee's victory as complete. Shuja Dowla, to whoſe bravery and conduct the ſucceſs was chiefly owing, was honoured by the Abdallee with moſt ſignal marks of his approbation. That monarch embraced him after the battle, ſtiled him in form his ſon, and cauſed the victory to be proclaimed and regiſtered in his name. On the 16th of January, by the command of the Abdallee, proper officers were ſent by Shuja Dowla and Nejeeb Cawn to take poſſeſſion of the Marhatta Camp at Segher, and to take an account of the plunder, which was invaluable, conſiſting of the whole artillery, tents, elephants, horſes, camels, and other cattle and baggage, with a vaſt treaſure.

Naroo Sanker, the Marhatta governor of Shahjehanabad, fled the day after the action towards Akbarabad, with all his effects and treaſure; the latter of which muſt have been very conſiderable, as his government had been a continued ſcene of rapine and extortion. It is ſaid, that he was ſtopped in the way by order of Soorujmul the Jaut, ſtripped of all his ill-gotten wealth, and left to purſue his journey, in equal diſtreſs and terror, to Akbarabad. The next day, a detachment ſent by Shuja Dowla entered the city, and took poſſeſſion of the place; and Jehan Cawn, the former Subahdar, who had gained the affections of the people by his moderate and juſt adminiſtration, was expected there ſhortly in the ſame capacity. On the 16th, Mirza Bawber, the ſon of Allee Gowher, rode out,

attended by his court, to viſit the Abdallee, and congratulate him on his victory.

It will be proper now to take a ſhort ſketch of the affairs of Bengal. The prince aſſembled an immenſe army, defeated Rajah Rammarain, who then commanded the forces of Jaffer Ally Cawn in Bahar; but was ſoon after attacked and worſted by the young Nabob and Major Caillaud. By the advice of Camgar Cawn, he ſuddenly paſſed by the young Nabob, and entered the province of Bengal by the paſſes of the mountains; but was ſo cloſely purſued, that deſpairing of ſucceſs, he returned by the ſame road, and without loſing time laid cloſe ſiege to Patna, which was gallantly defended by the Engliſh garriſon, till the arrival of Captain Knox with a detachment of Europeans and Seapoys, who relieved it. The prince immediately raiſed the ſiege and retired to Tekarree, where he paſſed the rains. The young Nabob and Major Caillaud arrived ſoon after. Sometime was ſpent in the purſuit of Khaudim Huſſein Cawn, Naib of Purnea, who had ſided with the prince. But the campaign was put an end to ſooner than was intended by the ſudden death of the young Nabob who was ſtruck by lightening. The troops took up their quarters in Patna. In the month of October the Nabob Jaffer Ally Cawn reſigned his government to his ſon-in-law Coſſim Ally Cawn, and retired to Calcutta.

After the rains the two armies again took the field. A treaty of peace was ſet on foot; but broke off through the means of Camgar Cawn. At length, Major Carnac, who commanded the Engliſh forces, marched againſt the prince on the 15th of January, and

attacked and beat him, taking M. Law and the French party priſoners. He purſued the prince very cloſely for ſome days, till the latter found himſelf ſo ſtreightened, that he offered to throw himſelf upon the protection of the Engliſh, which was accepted; and on the 8th of January he joined the Engliſh camp, and proceeded with them to Patna.

The province of Allahabad, including the diſtrict of Corah, eſtimated at the yearly revenue of twenty-two lacks of rupees, was aſſigned him in guarantee by the Company; and, in addition, to render his eſtabliſhment ſplendid, the Britiſh governor, in behalf of the Company, agreed to pay into his majeſty's treaſury the annual ſum of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees from the revenues of Bengal.—In return for theſe conceſſions, Shah-Aulum directed a firmaun to be made out, conſtituting the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company perpetual Dewaun of the rich and fertile provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, affording a revenue of three millions ſterling.

The city of Allahabad was ſelected for his majeſty's reſidence, where he kept his court in great ſplendour.

The proviſion thus made for Shah-Aulum was certainly ample, and the terms dictated by a ſpirit of conſiſtent liberality.

Surrounded by his moſt faithful ſervants, in the boſom of his family, and under the generous ſafeguard of the Britiſh nation, had Shah-Aulum properly appreciated his ſituation, he might no doubt have paſſed the remainder of his days in tranquillity and comfort.

It would appear, however, that this prince's diſpoſition and capacity has been imperfectly underſtood by his contemporaries.—The early part of his life had been active and enterpriſing; and his conduct in extricating himſelf from the violence of Gazooddeen exhibited a ſpirit of great gallantry and energy of mind. But weak, effeminate, and irreſolute, he ſuffered himſelf to be wholly ruled by the will of others. Though apparently ſatisfied in his exterior behaviour, Shah-Aulum, even from the moment of his ſettlement at Allahabad, ſighed in ſecret for the pleaſures of the capital, and was ambitious of re-aſcending the throne of his anceſtors; under this impreſſion, he unhappily ſuffered himſelf to be buoyed up by the promiſes of the Marhatta chiefs, and by the unworthy advice of his own counſellors, who, big with the hope of ruling with uncontrolled ſway, urged their ſovereign to throw off this dependance on the Engliſh, aſſert his own rights, and march to Delhi.

Accordingly, after an unquiet reſidence of five years at Allahabad, the emperor ventured on an ill-judged raſh experiment, which proved a ſource of inceſſant misfortune to himſelf and family; and which the woeful experience of twenty-ſix years of anxiety, ſorrow, and trouble, has but too fatally demonſtrated.

Not, however, to anticipate the ſeries of events detailed in the following volume, we proceed to relate the particular circumſtances that gave riſe to this extraordinary reſolution of Shah-Aulum *.

* As ample details of the tranſactions, from the deceaſe of Mahmud Shah until 1765, have been given by Colonel Dow and Captain Jonathan Scott, the author has deemed it eligible to treat of thoſe events with brevity.

CHAP. II.

SHAH-AULUM *reſides at* ALLAHABAD—NEJEEB AL DOWLAH *at* DELHI—*Succinct Account of the* MARHATTAS—*The* MARHATTAS *invite the King to return to* DELHI—*Negotiations—King ſets out—Arrival at* DELHI.

SHAH-AULUM, thus eligibly ſituated, in the boſom of his family, and ſurrounded by ſome of his moſt faithful ſervants, might now have ſecured himſelf a ſafe and honourable aſylum for the remainder of his days. But it was the misfortune of this prince to be ſwayed by the counſels of deſigning perſons, who, on the king's return to his capital, foreſaw a renewal of their own conſequence, and an opportunity afforded for the gratification of their ambitious views.

Buoyed up by the flattering proſpect of aſcending the throne of Timour, and enjoying the luxury and ſplendour of the capital, Shah-Aulum was perſuaded to liſten to the overtures which, about this time, were made him by the Marhatta nation. The power of this nation, though ſlowly recovering from the effects of the fatal defeat at Panneeputt, was ſtill formidable. Their dominions, in 1770, were bounded on the weſt by the country of the Rathore Rajpoots; and to ſouth weſt, including the fertile province of Guzerat, extended to the Indian ocean. Their eaſtern confine touched the extremity of Bahar and the Cuttack province, bounded on that ſide by

the Soobanreeka *. On the north by the Chumbul, a large and majeſtic river which riſes in the centrical parts of the Rathore mountains, and, after traverſing ſome of the moſt fertile parts of Hindoſtaun, diſcharges itſelf into the Jumna on the confines of Binde.

Within this widely-extended circuit were included the ancient kingdoms of Baglana and Beejapore, acquired by the valour of Sevajee, founder of the empire, the provinces of Berar and Bundelcund, Malwah, Cundeiſh, and Guzurat.

Poonah, a large and opulent, but unfortified, city, diſtant 100 miles north of Bombay, is the preſent capital of the Marhatta nation.

In the latter years of the reign of Shah Jehan, *Sewajee*, a noble Marhatta, who drew his lineage from the ancient ſovereigns of Deccan, laid the foundation of his country's grandeur. Through a ſeries of bold operations, attended by uncommon ſucceſs, he baffled every attempt of the great Aurengzeeb to depreſs his power; and, during the reign of that prince, he enlarged and extended his territory; and died in the plenitude of his power and ſovereign ſway over ſome of the richeſt provinces in Deccan †. His ſon and ſucceſſor, Sambajee, was weak and diſſolute; but Rajah Sahoo, the

* A river which divides Bengal from the Cuttack province.

† In this brief detail of the Marhatta ſtates, the author has principally followed the intereſting reports of the ſelect committee of the houſe of commons on the firſt and ſecond Marhatta wars. Mr. Orme's valuable hiſtorical fragments have alſo been conſulted occaſionally.

third of the family, enjoyed a long and ſucceſsful reign. Under his auſpices the Marhatta leaders, iſſuing from their ſtrong holds in the mountains, deſcended into the plains of Hindoſtaun; and by a ſucceſſion of rapid and brilliant victories, overwhelmed the tottering fabric of the Mogul power, and ſhook the throne of Timoor to its foundations.

On the death of Sahoo, the authority of Serajee's family firſt exhibited ſymptoms of decline. The great lords of the empire took advantage of the ſituation of an infant ſovereign; and, aſſuming an independant authority, erected the famous office of *Paiſhwah*, or Director-general of the affairs of the empire: which, in time, embraced every department of the ſtate, and totally eclipſed the influence of the royal family.

Bajerow Balajee, the firſt Paiſhwah, was a man of great abilities. To the bravery of an intrepid ſoldier and ſkilful general, he added political ſagacity; and after a long and ſucceſsful adminiſtration, had the ſingular good fortune to tranſmit his authority unimpaired, and his influence undiminiſhed, to his family and deſcendants.

A ſucceſſion of Paiſhwahs after Bajerow continued to direct the affairs of the Marhatta ſtate, until the middle of the preſent century. During this period the repreſentative of the royal line of Sevajee, immured within the fortreſs of Sittarah, exhibited only the pageant of a ſovereign. The idle ceremony of inveſting each ſucceſſive Paiſhwah in his office, the only act of royalty which he was per-

mitted to exerciſe, ſerved but to render him an object of pity and degradation in the eyes of the princes of Hindoſtaun.

The great Jagheerdars, or hereditary landholders, among the Marhattas, poſſeſſed on their own eſtates a kind of ſovereign authority; and the terms by which they held their domains bore ſtriking ſimilarity to the ancient feudal ſyſtem of many countries in Europe.

In times of war, indeed, when the public exigencies of the ſtate required, theſe chiefs were obliged not only to furniſh their quota toward the general ſtock, but alſo to appear in the field at the head of their followers, to defend the great banner of the empire. When the time of that ſervice expired, they returned to their Jagheers what they enjoyed in perpetuity, converting the revenues ſolely to their own uſe. Nor would they, though frequently called upon by the Paiſhwah's miniſters, conſent to any diminution therein.

Conſcious of their own ſtrength and internal reſources, theſe hardy chiefs were ſatisfied with paying a nominal allegiance to the commands of the Paiſhwah; and as they increaſed in numbers became more daring, till at length they threw off the yoke; and the energy and activity which the firſt Paiſhwahs had diſplayed ceaſing, the Jagheerdars eſtabliſhed themſelves in independance of the court of Poonah.

This ſo far reduced the influence of the Paiſhwah family as to give the Marhatta nation the appearance of a great military republic,

united by general intereſts, but divided and diſtinct in the operation of its various executive branches, in which ſituation it remains to the preſent day. At the period now commemorating, Madhoo Row Nerrain held the office of Paiſhwah at the court of Poonah. By an early application to buſineſs, he contrived to uphold his authority againſt the intrigues of his numerous enemies, and to render his authority reſpected.

On the other hand, three powerful families in the ſtate were ſecretly endeavouring to undermine the authority of the Paiſhwah, and erect their own on its ruin. 1. The family of Bhonſelah, rulers of the province of Berar, which they held in jaghire from Rajah Sahoo. Moodajee Bhonſelah at this time ruled over that province, and is well known to the Britiſh nation. Allied by blood to the royal family of Sevajee, this chief was conſidered with the higheſt reſpect by the whole Marhatta nation; and having eſtabliſhed his authority on a ſound baſis, he is looked up to by all parties as a proper counterpoiſe to the influence and over-weening ambition of the court of Poonah. 2. Pillagee Guicawar, or the herdſman, whoſe anceſtors wreſted from the Mogul Furrok Seer all the country at the foot of the Balah Ghaut mountains, and from Ahumudabad, the capital of Guzzerat, to the port of Damaun on the coaſt of Conkan. This family (whoſe jaghire was likewiſe a grant from Rajah Sahoo) formed an alliance with the Britiſh government during the ſecond Marhatta war *. 3. Tookajee Holkar and Madhajee Sindia, who jointly ſhared the Malwah province.

* See reports of the ſelect committee, &c.

The Marhatta force when united might amount to 150,000 men, the major part of which being horſemen, were accuſtomed to a deſultory and predatory mode of warfare, entirely deſtitute of ſcience or diſcipline, but formidable from their numbers and energetick method of attack. The Marhattas then, as already remarked, having recovered in a great meaſure the ſhock ſuſtained in their late defeat, appeared ready to renew their efforts, and interpoſe in the tranſactions of the court of Delhi. Three chiefs of note, Tookajee, Sindiah, and Beſagee, had for ſome time paſt taken a favourable poſition with a large force to the northward of the river Chumbul, in the vicinity of the town of Futtah Pore. Nujeeb Al Dowla, who had been placed at the head of the adminiſtration at Delhi, continued in that ſituation with great credit to himſelf and benefit to the ſtate. An able politician, a valorous ſoldier, and pleaſant and affable in his manners and demeanour, he gained the confidence of the Delhians, and his influence was found ſufficient to uphold the royal authority in the ſmall portion of authority which it ſtill retained. Nujeeb Al Dowla, who was equally deſirous with the king's friends for his majeſty to return to Delhi, readily entered into the views of the Marhattas on that head. He had moreover a more forcible argument to inſpire him with that reſolution. The Jauts, who, notwithſtanding their late diſaſter in the loſs of Sooruj Mull, their favourite chief, had made head again under his ſon and ſucceſſor, Jowaher Sing, and threatened Delhi with the horrors of a ſiege. In this critical ſituation, the miniſter entered into an alliance with the Marhatta leaders, and in concert with them, invited Shah-Aulum to return to his capital. The Marhattas who had an army conſiſting of 30,000 horſe, if ſincere in their profeſſions of

meliorating the king's ſituation, certainly poſſeſſed the means, totally independent either of the Britiſh or any other nation in Hindoſtaun. But it cannot be denied that their chief aim in uniting with the miniſter, and a concurrence with the king's inclinations, were not dictated by a generous regard for his intereſts, but intirely with a view to their own aggrandiſement.

They expected when Shah-Aulum, through their aſſiſtance, ſhould be eſtabliſhed at Delhi, the whole management of affairs would be placed in their hands, and were determined that neither Nujeeb Al Dowla nor any other miniſter ſhould poſſeſs influence in the ſtate. This intention, indeed, appeared manifeſt throughout the negociations; conformably to the characteriſtic policy of their nation, they inſtructed their agent to announce to the king the reward they expected for their interference, in the preſent critical ſtate of affairs, and made a previous, though ſecret, ſtipulation for a ceſſion of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad to be delivered over to them for ever.

To theſe demands, however exorbitant, Shah-Aulum, impatient of his confinement at Allahabad, and eager to ſet out on his intended journey, yielded a ready aſſent. Nujeeb Al Dowla, when he wrote at this time to the king, recapitulated the circumſtances that led to the preſent offers of the Marhatta leaders, and earneſtly preſſed the neceſſity of his ſpeedy appearance at the capital. "By "this ſtep," ſaid he, "the deſigns of your enemies will be fruſ- "trated, and the rebels puniſhed; and I ſhall have the ſingular "ſatisfaction of ſeeing your majeſty, before I die, ſeated on the throne "of your illuſtrious anceſtors, and reſtored to imperial authority."

A few days after writing the above letter, this able miniſter, at an advanced age, having laboured under a complication of diſorders, expired, to the great detriment of the king's intereſts, and the general regret of the inhabitants of Delhi, who ſtill continue to ſpeak of his adminiſtration in terms of reſpectful gratitude. This occurrence, however untoward, made no alteration in the plan laid down; on the contrary, the king appeared more eager than before to commence his expedition; and notwithſtanding the ſalutary advice of the Engliſh government, the intreaties of the vizir, or the remonſtrances of ſuch of his ſervants who were attached to his real intereſts, he perſiſted in his deſign.

Previous to Shah-Aulum's departure, his miniſter, Muneer Al Dowlah, who had already made two journeys into Deccan to concert meaſures with the Marhatta chiefs, was now for the laſt time ſent by the king to Calcutta to demand the approbation of the Britiſh government on his intended movement. But here he met with a poſitive refuſal; convinced of the imprudence of the ſtep his majeſty was about to take, the council ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt it; they told Muneer Al Dowlah that the king was throwing away the ſubſtance to graſp a ſhadow, and ſacrificing his ſolid and ſubſtantial intereſts to the vain and idle gratification of reſiding in the imperial palace; they warned him againſt the impolicy of placing confidence in the Marhattas, the very people whoſe perfidious conduct and inſatiable ambition had already proved ſo fatal to many of his auguſt family. They finally predicted that the preſent meaſure was equally dangerous and deſtructive to his real benefit, as it would undoubtedly hereafter prove diſtreſſing to his recollection. With theſe ſenti-

ments, certainly honourable to themſelves, the council of Calcutta diſmiſſed Muneer Al Dowlah. But though the Britiſh government declined to ſanction the king's departure from their protection, they permitted him to retain in his ſervice ſome battalions of Seapoys which had been trained and diſciplined after the European method, having firſt, however, withdrawn their own officers. With theſe and other aids, particularly a large ſupply from the vizir, and the exertions of the Mogul nobles, Shah-Aulum was enabled in the ſpring of 1771 to aſſemble an army of about 16,000 men. At his departure, Shuja Al Dowla, the vizir, preſented a magnificent paiſh-cuſh, or offering, with four lacks of rupees in ſpecie. He likewiſe, in concert with the commander in chief of the Britiſh forces, accompanied his majeſty to the frontiers of the Corah province; when having again renewed their ſolicitations to detain the king, but without effect, they took their leave.

On the road, intelligence was received of the death of Ahmud Khan Bungeiſh, the Nawaub of Furookhabad: on which the army halted, and a meſſage was ſent by the king's miniſters to the guardians of the infant Nawaub, Muzuffur Jung, to demand the arrears due as paiſhcuſh to the royal treaſury for ſeveral years.

This action, conſidering the unprotected ſtate of the young Nawaub, was conſidered as oppreſſive and unjuſt; but it was vehemently defended by the miniſters, on the principle of his majeſty's want of ability to enforce his right until the preſent period.

Haſſam Al Dowlah and other noblemen had a conference with

the guardians of the young Nawaub; at which it was agreed that paiſhcuſh of four lacks of rupees ſhould be given on the part of Muzuffur Jung; for which he was honoured by his majeſty with a khillut, and other marks of diſtinction; and a patent was directed to be iſſued from the chancery office, confirming him Nawaub of the diſtrict.

The periodical rains being now ſet in, the king ordered his army to canton at Nabbee Gunje, a town thirty miles weſt of Furookabad, and in the high road to Delhi. At this place Anunt Row, a Marhatta vakeel, waited the arrival of the royal army. He was charged with the following propoſitions for the king's conſideration:

1. That whatever balance of *Chout* * was due from the crown to the Paiſhwah family ſince the time of Mahmud Shah, ſhould be faithfully diſcharged. That whatever plunder might be acquired during the war ſhould be equally divided between the Marhattas and the Mogul troops.

2. That on the king's arrival at Delhi, the Marhatta leaders ſhould be confirmed in the poſſeſſion of their reſpective jagheers: and, finally, for the purpoſe of carrying on the war againſt the Jauts and others, the ſum of five lacks of rupees ſhould be immediately advanced from the king's treaſury.

* The Chout is the tribute impoſed by the Marhattas upon every part of Hindoſtaun that came under their authority ſince their firſt irruptions. It ſignifies one fourth part of the net revenue of any ſtate or province.

Theſe propoſals, at a time when his majeſty was ſo near his capital, cauſed him extreme diſguſt. He perceived too well the arrogant ſpirit by which they were dictated; but conſcious of his own inability to reſiſt or evade the fulleſt compliance, he acquieſced in the demand. The vakeel was graciouſly received; and a few days after the Nawaub Mujud Al Dowla and ſeveral of the nobility arrived in the camp from Delhi, to viſit and congratulate his majeſty on his approach. They brought with them from the Marhatta chiefs a variety of coſtly preſents; and many ſoldiers of fortune and adventurers having joined the royal ſtandard, the court exhibited a gay and ſplendid appearance.

The arrival of the Marhatta chiefs enhanced the general ſatisfaction; and on a day appointed, Sindiah, Holkar, and Beeſajee, were introduced into the king's preſence, and received with marks of diſtinguiſhed reſpect.

Every thing being now ſettled, the army continued its march; and on the 25th of December, 1771, Shah-Aulum made his entry into the capital with much pomp and ſplendour, and amidſt the acclamations of all ranks of people.

CHAP. III.

Proceedings againſt ZABITA KHAN—*The* MARHATTAS *refuſe to divide the Plunder*—NUJUFF KHAN *in high Favour*—*He quarrels with the* MARHATTAS—*His Defeat*—*Pardoned*—*Ceſſion of* CORAH *and* ALLAHABAD *to the* MARHATTAS—SHUJA AL DOWLA *marches againſt the* MARHATTAS—MARHATTAS *retire to* DECCAN.

THE firſt object to which Shah-Aulum directed his attention after a few days repoſe, was the puniſhment of Zabita Khan, ſon to the late miniſter, Nujeeb Al Dowlah. At the time of his father's death, this nobleman reſided at Sehaurunpore, the capital of the province of the ſame name.

This province, ſituated in the upper parts of the Dooab*, in the vicinity of the *Sewalick* hills, in the latitude of 28-29. N. long. 77. 50. W. and about 70 miles Eaſt of Delhi, was the jagheer beſtowed upon Nejeeb Al Dowlah, as a reward for the many ſervices rendered by him to the ſtate. It commences under the Sewalick hills, and is bounded on the north by the fortreſs of Ghoſe Ghur, eaſt by Sakertaul on the Ganges; weſt by the Purgannah of Seamlee; and ſouth by the town of Meerut. The ſoil is fertile and

* The country lying betwixt the rivers Ganges and Jumna.

luxurious, producing grain, ſugarcane, and tobacco, in the greateſt abundance: and until injured by the various internal commotions which occurred during the turbulent reigns of Aurengzeeb's ſucceſſors, it was eſteemed one of the moſt fertile parts of the empire.

Zabita Khan, not equally inclined to ſupport the royal cauſe as his father had been, deemed the confuſed ſtate of the king's affairs a fit opportunity to facilitate his own ambitious views; and ſcarce had his father expired, when he applied himſelf to raiſing troops, who were chiefly Afghauns of his own tribe, and in fortifying the ſtrong holds in his diſtrict. Among theſe was the poſt of Sakertaul, ſituated fifty miles from the capital, on the weſtern bank of the Ganges. This place was ſelected by Zabita Khan as the moſt eligible to make an advantageous ſtand. He threw up ſtrong entrenchments; and having aſſembled a numerous body of veteran Rohillas, reſolved to wait the attack of the royal army, now on the way to puniſh his rebellion.

The king commanded in perſon, and under him was the Nawaub Mirza Nujuff Khan, who began about this time to be noticed with marks of particular regard by his majeſty, which was the foundation of his future power. The Marhatta forces were ſent on as an advance guard, and the king and Nujuff Khan followed with the remainder of the troops.

Intelligence of the approach of the royal army being conveyed to Zabita Khan, he thought it better, by making a ſpirited effort to overcome his enemies in the field, than waiting behind his entrench-

ments. He accordingly advanced a few miles in front of his camp, and offered battle to the king's troops. The conteſt was bloody, and for ſome time doubtful; the rebel chiefs, Sadut Khan and Syud Khan, led on their troops with great ſpirit; but the former being unfortunately ſlain by a cannon ball, the Rohillas, diſpirited at that event, began to give way. Zabita Khan perceiving the diſaſter, ordered a retreat, and was ſoon compelled to leave the field of battle with precipitation. The Marhatta horſe, advancing with great rapidity, commenced the purſuit of the flying enemy on all ſides, and entering the camp along with the fugitives, they ſoon got poſſeſſion of it, which rendered their victory complete. In the camp they found a fine park of artillery, together with an immenſe plunder of money, ſtores, and valuable effects of every kind; and the whole of the family of Zabita Khan were made priſoners.

This firſt eſſay augured favorably for the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms; but the avarice exhibited by the Marhattas in the moment of victory cauſed great diſcontents among the king's troops, and laid the ſeeds of internal diſcord and animoſity. Notwithſtanding the ſtipulations already recorded, which were entered into at Nubbee Gunj, the Marhattas appropriated the greateſt part of the ſpoil taken on this occaſion to their own uſe. They ſecured the whole of the treaſure, amounting to a krore of rupees, without offering to make the ſmalleſt diſtribution with their gallant colleagues. The king, incenſed at this conduct, complained of it with warmth to the Marhatta leaders, but without effect. He found their preſent influence too great to be ſet aſide, and therefore diſſembled; but the Mogul nobility nouriſhed a ſecret hatred againſt

them, which they reſolved to make manifeſt on the firſt opportunity that was afforded them.

Meanwhile the army advanced, and took poſſeſſion of Sehaurunpore, together with other ſtrong places in the neighbourhood; ſo that, excepting the fort of Ghoſe Ghur, the whole of the province acknowledged the king's authority. The family of Zabita Khan, who had been taken in his camp, were by order of Shah-Aulum ſet at liberty, and ſent with a ſtrong eſcort to the fort of Ghoſe Ghur, it being an inviolable maxim throughout Hindoſtaun, and in general moſt religiouſly obſerved, to reſpect the honour of the Haram *.

Having appointed a perſon to command in Sehaurunpore, and ſettled the affairs of the province, Shah-Aulum returned with the army to Delhi.

The conduct of the Marhatta chiefs in refuſing to make a fair diſtribution of the ſpoil acquired by the late victory, made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Shah-Aulum. The preſence of perſons who had inſulted his authority was irkſome to him; and, in order to be releaſed from the reſtraint which they impoſed, he requeſted them to march their forces againſt the Jauts, who had again aſſembled in arms under the command of their chief, Rajah Nuwil Sing. The Marhattas obeyed the order, and departed; but had not been gone many days, when the king received authentic information that they were in league with the rebel, Zabita Khan, who had cajoled

* The Haram ſignifies any females of the family, whatever may be their rank or condition.

them into his views, and were actually on the point of concluding a treaty with that nobleman.

Shah-Aulum, determined to make one effort to deſtroy their iniquitous cabals, aſked advice from Nujuff Khan. He propoſed to augment the Mogul army, and to raiſe new levies with all poſſible expedition. The king, who knew his ability, and was convinced of his attachment, relied entirely on his exertions; and to give proof of his confidence, he publicly beſtowed on him the office of Paymaſter General of his forces.

Nujuff Khan in a ſhort time aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops; and to animate their zeal on the occaſion, he declared it was for the ſole purpoſe of protecting the perſon of his majeſty againſt the inſolent menaces of the Marhatta chiefs.

Theſe precautions were ſufficiently juſtified by the conduct of the Marhattas, who, on their arrival in the country of the Jauts, inſtead of proſecuting the war, were employed in ſettling the terms of a treaty with Zabita Khan. On the arrival of that chief in their camp, it was ſtipulated that, on his advancing a large ſum of money, they would return to Delhi, and on their arrival, in concert with him, inſiſt not only on a pardon for his offences, but the inveſtiture of the office of Ameer Al Omrah *, which his father had enjoyed. Conformably to this agreement they ſtruck their tents, and marched towards Delhi. When arrived in the neighbourhood of that city,

* Chief of the nobility, an office of the higheſt rank in Hindoſtaun.

they ſent a meſſenger to his majeſty to require his compliance with the demands aforementioned; but Shah-Aulum relying on the attachment of the Mogul troops, and the fidelity of Nujuff Khan, aſſumed a bolder tone, and diſmiſſed the meſſenger with a poſitive refuſal.

Meanwhile the miniſter by the king's order led out his troops to battle. He took poſt near the monument of a Mahomedan devotee without the walls of the city, oppoſite the gate called Ajmere. His army was well appointed, having a numerous artillery commanded by a French officer. The Marhattas, who outnumbered their opponents, were confident of ſucceſs, and the attack commenced with great fury on both ſides, but an accident which happened to Nujuff Khan, by the blowing up of an ammunition waggon, and which cauſed a conſiderable loſs among his troops, turned the fortune of the day in favour of the enemy, and with great difficuly the miniſter was enabled to draw off a part of his army under ſhelter of a ſlight entrenchment thrown up in haſte by the French commandant of artillery. The Marhattas diſliking to attack the entrenchment, ſuddenly wheeled off and attacked the gate of the city which was near them, hoping to carry it; but Huſſam Al Dowlah, who was ſtationed in that place, repulſed them with great intrepidity, till finding they could not effect their purpoſe, they ſuddenly withdrew their army, and retired to a ſmall diſtance from the city.

From the iſſue of the preceding day, the king ſaw too plainly he could not hope to prolong the conteſt; and, at a conſultation which he held with his Mogul officers, they with reluctance adviſed him

to accommodate matters with the enemy, and a negociation accordingly commenced. The Marhattas were again invited to court, whither they repaired the enſuing morning, accompanied by Zabita Khan, who was pardoned, and moreover gratified with a khillut, reinſtated in his government of Sehaurunpore, and finally, appointed to the long-expected office of Ameer Al Omrah. It has been judged by many that theſe conceſſions ſo degrading to the king, were not wholly occaſioned by his inability to reſiſt, but partly from the intrigues of Huſſam Al Dowlah, who, though he had behaved gallantly in the late attack, was known to be in the intereſt of the Marhattas. Their triumph was now complete; and to eſtabliſh it in the eyes of all Hindoſtaun, they aſked and obtained from his majeſty *ſunnuds* * for the province of Corah and Allahabad, which had by a ſolemn treaty already been granted to the Engliſh.

Though Shah-Aulum acceded to this degradation with indignation and diſguſt, rigid impartiality demands that to his own weakneſs, effeminacy, and indolence, be aſcribed the real cauſes of his diſgrace. His total want of energy in judging for himſelf, made him always a ready and eaſy prey to the deſigns of the inſolent or ambitious. Huſſam Al Dowla, who had long been the perſonal enemy of Nujuff Khan, took this opportunity of perſecuting that nobleman to the utmoſt. Supported by the Marhatta chiefs, he publicly accuſed Nujuff Khan as the ſole adviſer of the late pernicious meaſures in effecting a breach betwixt his majeſty and his faithful adherents the Marhattas, and, that owing to his councils, the

* A grant.

affairs of the ſtate had fallen into diſorder; he inſiſted therefore on his immediate execution. The king, though well convinced of the attachment of Nujuff Khan, was incapable of affording him any protection at the preſent juncture; being entirely at the diſpoſal of the triumphant party, he would therefore have fallen a victim to the malice of his enemies, had not his own reſolute ſpirit reſcued him.

When the aforementioned negociation commenced, Nujuff Khan, who foreſaw the gathering ſtorm, had retired prudently to his own palace; there, animated by a generous indignation at the unworthy treatment he had received, he collected his friends and dependants around him, and theſe to the number of 3,000, determined with their lord to ſhare his fortunes. Inſtigated by Huſſam Al Dowla, the Marhatta forces were ordered to aſſault Nujuff Khan in his palace; the affair began to wear a very ſerious aſpect, as from the known bravery of the general, he could not be taken without a deſperate reſiſtance and much bloodſhed. This, however, was prevented by the interference of Trojakee Holkar; admiring the intrepidity of Nujuff Khan, and aſhamed of the part his countrymen were acting, this generous chief offered his mediation, which was accepted, and Nujuff Khan directed to repair to court in order to receive his pardon. Accordingly, ſtill attended by his faithful adherents, who refuſed to quit him, he repaired to the imperial palace, where he was graciouſly received by his majeſty, honoured with a khillut, and appointed to the command of the army. For this laſt favour, he was indebted more to the complexion of affairs than the inclinations of his enemies.

During the late commotions within the province of Delhi, others of a very ſerious nature had ariſen from an oppoſite quarter. The Rohillas were on the eve of a memorable conteſt, in which the intereſts of the Vizir Shuja Dowla, as likewiſe thoſe of the king, were materially involved. The Marhattas, who during the two preceding years had committed every ſpecies of violence and oppreſſion, laying waſte the countries through which they paſſed, and inſulting the inhabitants, had, among other places, made irruptions into the fine province of Rohilcund, and by a barbarous ſpecies of warfare in deſtroying the produce of the country, excited in that warlike tribe a juſt indignation. Not being of themſelves ſufficiently numerous to reſiſt the enemy, they applied to the vizir for aſſiſtance, who, in concurrence with the commander-in-chief of the Britiſh forces, agreed to unite and expel the invaders. Hafiz Rehumut Khan, chief of the tribe, on this occaſion, formed a treaty with the vizir and the Engliſh, in which he agreed, in return for the aſſiſtance offered, to pay at the end of the war the ſum of forty lacks of rupees to the vizier. In theſe tranſactions, Shah-Aulum had ſecretly born a conſiderable part. Pending the treaty, he had privately conſulted with the agents of the vizir, and had moreover informed the Britiſh government * it was now as much his earneſt deſire to be rid of the thraldom in which he was kept by the Marhattas, as he had before been partial to them. He added, likewiſe, that every exertion ſhould be made on his part to counteract their deſigns by conſtantly giving intimation of their intended movements.

In conſequence of theſe engagements, the forces of Shuja Al

* See ſelect reports, *paſſim*.

Dowla, accompanied by the Engliſh brigades, joined the Rohilla army, who were ſtationed on the frontiers. Previous to this event, a very large Marhatta army commanded by Holkar and Beeſage had croſſed the Ganges, and laid waſte great part of the country; they were however ſoon repulſed and driven back acroſs the river with the utmoſt precipitation. The remainder of the Marhatta army under Sindiah, attended by Nujuff Khan, who, as already mentioned, had been reinſtated in his appointment, now arrived, but finding the ill ſucceſs of their aſſociates, and obſerving the countenance of the Britiſh troops, they held a conſultation upon their future operations. Finding the ſituation of affairs hoſtile to their views, and knowing the king's mind was now entirely eſtranged from them, they reſolved for the preſent to return to Deccan, determined to renew their ambitious ſchemes as opportunity ſhould offer. Agreeably to this reſolve, Sindiah and Holkar firſt, and Beſajee afterwards, withdrew their reſpective troops, and taking the route to Jypore, quitted Hindoſtaun. Nujuff Khan returned to Delhi with the Mogul troops.

CHAP. IV.

Adminiſtration of NUJUFF KHAN—*Conqueſts in the* JAUT *Country*—*Rupture betwixt* SHUJA AL DOWLA *and the* ROHILLAS—*Reduction of* ROHILCUND—*Deſcription of that Country*—*Death of* SHUJA DOWLA—*Account of the* OUDE *Family.*

THE retreat of the Marhattas afforded Shah-Aulum the higheſt ſatisfaction: freed from the vexations occaſioned by their inſolent demeanour, he hoped he ſhould once more be enabled to maintain his authority in the ſtate, and bring his affairs into a better train.—He was reſolved to place his whole confidence on Mirza Nujuff Khan, who in every reſpect was well qualified for the important truſt. High ſpirited, and an active, equally a valiant commander, as of courteous and obliging manners, he conciliated the eſteem of every one; and by his unremitting attention to buſineſs, he preſerved regularity, and reſtored order throughout every department.

The king, to give public proof of his opinion of this nobleman's attachment, thought proper, as a preliminary ſtep, to diſmiſs his rival, Haſſam Al Dowlah, from all his employments. His majeſty had long beheld the predilection which that miniſter had entertained for the Marhattas, whoſe intereſts he had dared to prefer to thoſe of his lawful ſovereign; and reſolved to puniſh him for his preſumption. He was degraded from his nobility, and all his eſtates confiſcated to the royal treaſury. His appointments were conferred on

Nujuff Khan, who was at the ſame time created Captain General of the forces of the empire, and dignified with other titles *.

The treaſures taken from Haſſam Al Dowla, which had been amaſſed by oppreſſive means, afforded a fund ſufficient to anſwer the expences of a war with the Jauts, who, during the late diſputes at court, had again made head, and were exciting freſh diſturbances in order to embarraſs the king's government.

About this time, Mujud Al Dowla, a nobleman of conſiderable eminence, was appointed to the office of Dewaun †: and the king, to encourage his army, cauſed it to be ſignified to the troops that the plunder acquired during the intended expedition, ſhould be divided amongſt them.

The country of the Jauts, ſo frequently mentioned, is ſituated on both ſides of the river Jumna, and comprehends a tract of 150 miles in length, by about 60 in breadth. It extends from the vicinity of Gwalior, a large tower 60 miles weſtward of Agrah, to the ſkirts of the capital; and contains within its limits many ſtrong fortreſſes and other holds. Towards the cloſe of the reign of Aurengzeeb, this ſingular tribe firſt attracted notice. Emigrating from a remote

* His titles at length were, Khan Sipahi Sillar Hindoſtaun, Ruſtum Al Dowla, Ruſtumi Hind, Zulficar Al Dowla, Mirza Nujuff Khan Behadur, Ghalib Jung.--- In Engliſh thus:

Leader of the armies of Hindoſtaun, Splendour of the State, Ruſtum of India, Sword of the Empire, Mirza Nujuff Khan victorious in battle.

† Collector of the revenues.

ſpot on the banks of the Indus, in the lower parts of the Moultan province, and accuſtomed to the humble occupations of huſbandry, they were allowed to ſettle themſelves peaceably in their preſent reſidence. In the courſe of a few years becoming numerous, they ventured to attack the caravans proceeding to Delhi with ſupplies for the royal army; and having met with unexpected ſucceſs on their firſt attempts, at length became ſo formidable as to require the preſence of the imperial troops to overawe them.

Their future progreſs was inconceivably rapid; and amid the civil wars carried on by Aurungzeeb's ſucceſſors, the Jauts found means to ſecure a large portion of country to themſelves, in which they built forts, and accumulated great wealth. Their natural propenſity to plunder, which accompanied them in their emigration, has communicated itſelf to their poſterity, and they are ſtill a moſt notorious and daring banditti.

Chura Mun, one of their firſt chiefs, was an intrepid ſoldier, and remarkably fortunate in his encounters with the imperial troops, who were frequently compelled to retire with precipitation before this daring tribe. In later times, Suruj Mull, who fell in an ambuſcade a few year ſince, was one of the moſt reſpectable of their leaders. He, in 1756, having been dignified with the title of Rajah, or Prince, kept his court with great ſplendour. But with his death their power, in a great meaſure, expired. His eldeſt ſon, Nuwil Sing, who now commanded the tribe, was not equal to contend with the ability of Nujuff Khan; but being a man of great perſonal courage, he determined to riſk the iſſue; and for this pur-

poſe, beſides augmenting his army, he had fortified in the ſtrongeſt manner the towns of Deig, Bullum Ghur, and other places within his juriſdiction.

Zulficar Al Dowla having received his inſtructions from the king, put his troops in motion, and marched towards the Jauts. In his way he reduced ſeveral refractory Zemindars, whom the late diſturbances at court had tempted to revolt from their allegiance. On theſe he impoſed heavy fines, and by this means enriched his treaſury to a conſiderable amount. In the mean time the Jaut Rajah hearing of the ſucceſs of the captain general, was fearful he might make an attack upon the fort of Deig, one of his ſtrongeſt holds, which, if ſucceſsful, would undoubtedly put an end to the war, and prove utter deſtruction to his affairs. To prevent this, he reſolved to hazard an action; and, agreeably to his determination, threw himſelf in the way of the royal army. A ſharp engagement enſued; but Nujuff Khan's good fortune prevailing, the Jaut Rajah was totally defeated, and compelled to quit the field of battle with very few of his ſoldiers. He took refuge in the fort of Deig, which he reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity.

The plunder of Nuwil Sing's camp, which was immenſe, prevented an immediate purſuit: and Nujuff Khan, elate with his victory, ſent an account of it to Delhi without delay. The news of ſucceſs, ſo important, was received at court with the higheſt ſatisfaction; and rewards and honours were conferred on the captain general and his army by the king's expreſs command. He ſent the general a letter of thanks, written with his own hand, and recom-

mended a vigorous purſuit of the enemy, which it was hoped would bring the conteſt to a ſpeedy and favourable iſſue. From the field of battle, Nujuff Khan led the army to Agrah, which place he inveſted on all ſides; but not having a ſufficient train of artillery, he was compelled to turn the ſiege into a blockade, which, indeed, is the more general method adopted by the armies of Hindoſtaun.

During the ſiege, he ſent detachments to different parts of the ſurrounding country, by which means, ſeveral of the refractory Zemindars were induced to ſubmit themſelves to the king's authority.

About this time, the Vizir Shuja Al Dowla, advanced into the Doo Ab with a conſiderable army. That prince, whoſe ambition was great, deeming the retreat of the Marhattas favourable to his deſigns, reſolved to appropriate ſome of their poſſeſſions to his own uſe. He accordingly laid ſiege to Etawah, a city on the frontiers, from whence he expelled the Marhattas, and placed a garriſon therein on his own part. From Etawah he proceeded to Agrah, then beſieged by Nujuff Khan, whom he aſſiſted with an increaſe of force, and ſeveral fine cannon, which enabled the captain general to carry on the ſiege with vigour. The garriſon, threatened by a dearth of proviſions, were, without difficulty, perſuaded to capitulate, and accordingly delivered up the fort and its dependencies to Nujuff Khan. A meſſenger was immediately diſpatched to the capital with the important intelligence, and carried with him the keys of the fort to be laid at his majeſty's feet.

Shuja Al Dowla at the ſame time ſent Illuj Khan his favourite, to wait on the king, and, in his name, compliment him on the late ſucceſſes. But that nobleman was charged with a ſecret commiſſion of a more important nature. It was to engage the king's conſent to the deſigns which he now meditated againſt the Rohillas, and, in the event of conqueſt, to participate with his majeſty in ſharing the country between them. The jealouſy with which the vizir had long beheld the Rohilla power, and his alarm at the extenſion of their influence, ſo contiguous to his own dominions, determined him, though contrary to ſtrict juſtice and ſound policy, to quarrel with that nation; and, that a pretext might not be wanting in his favour, he urged the infraction of the late treaty, and complained loudly of the treacherous conduct of the Rohillas in delaying payment of the ſtipulated ſum.

The violation of a treaty made under ſuch circumſtances, and by which the Rohillas had certainly received material aſſiſtance in the expulſion of the invaders of their country, cannot indeed be juſtified by any principle of common honeſty, though at the ſame time the inordinate ambition of the vizir, and his enterprizing ſpirit, were grounds of alarm, ſufficient to perſuade the Rohilla Sirdars to counteract and curb it by any means within their power.

Illuj Khan, on his arrival at court, conſulted with Mujud Al Dowla on the foregoing points; and, as he brought a large ſum of money with him, he found leſs difficulty in ſucceeding in his object. A ſecret treaty was at length formed, by which the vizir bound himſelf not only to defray the expences of the war, but, at its concluſion,

his majeſty ſhould participate in the diſtribution of the plunder as well as a ſhare in the conquered province, or, if more agreeable, have an equal proportion of country more contiguous to Delhi. On the part of the king, he was to ſend the army under Nujuff Khan to the aſſiſtance of the vizir, who was preparing, in concert with the Britiſh forces, to take the field. Shah-Aulum appeared to liſten to their propoſals with much complacency; yet, as an ingenious hiſtorian * has juſtly remarked, he did not heartily concur in the meaſure, being averſe to aggrandiſing the vizir at the expence of the Rohillas. Whatever were his real ſentiments, the captain-general was recalled from Agrah, and directed to march the army towards Rohilcund, and the king prepared to take the field, but indiſpoſition, whether real or pretended, prevented him from attending the army, which ſet out under the command of Nujuff Khan.

The memorable battle of Cutterah; and the termination of the Rohilla war which ſoon followed, are too well known to require any comment in theſe tranſactions; it may however gratify curioſity to take a view of the then ſituation, ſoil, climate, and productions, of that celebrated province.

Rohilcund, called in Sanſcrit *Cuttair*, comprehends that tract lying eaſt of the Ganges, between the 28th and 30th degrees of north latitude, and from 76 to 80 longitude. Commencing in the vicinity of Loll Dong, at the foot of the Kummow Hills, it extends caſtward to the town of Pillibeet; on the north and weſt, it

* Captain Jonathan Scott.

is bounded by the Ganges, and to the ſouth, by the diſtrict of Mahomedy, in the dominions of Oude.

The ſoil of Cuttair is in general a rich black mould, intermixed in many parts with ſand and red earth; it is uncommonly fertile, and capable of the higheſt cultivation, abounding in all ſorts of grain, ſugar-cane, and tobacco. Few countries have, in truth, more natural advantages than this; it is well ſupplied with ſeveral large rivers, beſides numerous ſmaller ſtreams. Among the firſt, are the Ramgonga, and Dewah, (or Gambera.)

The Ramgonga, taking its riſe between the firſt and ſecond range of mountains to the north-eaſt, iſſues forth into the plains of Hindoſtaun at the Gaut of Colly; and after traverſing the greateſt part of Rohilcund, in a ſouth and ſouth-weſterly direction, and fertilizing the lands, is joined in its progreſs by other rivers, and finally, diſcharged into the Ganges in the vicinity of Kinnouj. This majeſtic river, until late years imperfectly known, is navigable for ſeven months in the year; its ſtream is broad and rapid, and its banks are adorned with many large and populous villages. On the eaſtern ſide, the Dewah iſſuing from the ſame mountains, runs by the town of Pillibeet. Here are embarked the fineſt Saul, Siſſoo, and fir timbers, the produce of the neighbouring foreſts that ſkirt the foot of the Kummow hills. At the city of Shahjehanpore, the Dewah joins the Gamberah, whoſe name it aſſumes, and after waſhing the towns of Sandy, Beroun, and other places, meets the Ramgonga near its junction with the Ganges. The ſmaller ſtreams are the Coſſillah, Nahul, Byghul, Dakra, Bukrah, Beeſrah, and

Yarwufadar; theſe likewiſe contribute highly to the cultivation of the country, and by means of reſervoirs, ſluices, canals and acqueducts, diſperſe their waters throughout the corn fields in every direction, but more particularly ſo in the jagheer of the late Fyzoolah Khan.

Another property peculiar to Cuttair, is the facility with which water is procured; excluſive of the rivers and ſtreams before enumerated, the ſoil is ſuch, that by digging a few feet from the ſurface of the earth in any part of the country, water is procured in abundance.

So happily ſituated by nature, Rohilcund has in all times been deemed of great political importance. In the early times of the empire, commerce flouriſhed. The great cities of Shahabad, Shahjehanpore, Bareilly, Biſſowlee, Bedaon, Owlah, Mooradabad and Sumbul, formerly kept up a conſtant intercourſe with the caravans of the north. By them were exported into Cuttair, the products of Lahoor, Cabul, Caſhmire, Candahar and Perſia, rubies, precious ſtones, tuteneage, copper, iron, tin, lead, borax, drugs, Caſhmerian ſhawls, Carmanian wool, mules, horſes and camels; in return they received, coarſe cloths, ſugar, grain and tobacco.

During the reign of the Patan Dynaſty in Hindoſtaun, many princes of that family kept their courts for a ſeries of years in the antient city of Bedaon. There, as in many parts of Cuttair, are to be ſeen the remains of magnificent edifices, palaces, gardens, moſques, colleges and mauſoleums. Among the firſt-rate cities of

modern days are to be placed, Owlah, Biſſowlee, Bareilly and Pillibeet, which having been the reſidences of thoſe Rohilla chiefs who founded a new empire in Cuttair within half a century back, demand on this occaſion particular attention.

The city of Owlah, ſituated in the centre, and in one of the fineſt parts of Rohilcund, is built on an eminence, having a commanding view of the adjacent country. The river *Nuwaub Nuddi* runs along the ſouth-weſtern ſide of the city. The town is of conſiderable extent, and adorned with many handſome buildings, moſt of which are now in ruins. Enough however remains to diſcover the former grandeur of the place, and to regret the fatal ravages of deſtructive ambition. On the ſummit of the eminence is the fort built of brick. It was erected about fifty years ſince by Ali Mahomed, founder of the Rohilla government in Cuttair, and here he kept his court. Within the fort is the palace of Ali Mahomed, a cathedral, and ſeveral other public buildings. In the environs of Owlah are ruins of palaces, gardens, and moſques; the adjacent country is by nature beautiful, but the total want of cultivation renders melancholy the proſpect. Owlah is ſixteen miles N. W. of Bareilly, from Biſſowlee fourteen, and about equal diſtant from Delhi and Pillibeet. At Biſſowlee are likewiſe to be ſeen evident traces of the former ſplendour of the Rohilla government; and it is moreover remarkable for being the burial place of ſeveral of the family of Ali Mahomed.

Bareilly, ſituated on the banks of the united ſtreams of Jooah and Sunkra, is a large, handſome, well-built city. It was the

capital of Hafiz Rehumut, and a place of conſiderable trade. It is diſtant from Lucknow 180 miles, and from the Ganges 120.—Laſtly, the town of Pillibeet. This place, thirty-ſix miles to the north-eaſt of Bareilly, was peculiarly ſelected by the diſcriminative foreſight of Hafiz Rehumut Khan, as of great importance in its commercial reſources. For the encouragement of trade that prince built a ſpacious Shehr Punnah, or Pettah, which is four miles in circumference. It is ſurrounded by a brick wall, and within the encloſure is erected a magnificent moſque. Admirably ſituated on the banks of the Dewah, Pillibeet, during the Rohilla government, was an emporium of commerce. Its ſtaples are Saul, Seſſoo, and fir timbers, ſugars, and coarſe cloths; and from the mountains of Almorah are imported borax, pitch, drugs, wax, and honey: of late years, however, it is melancholy to add, the hand of commerce is ſhrunk up, and the want of a well-regulated police, the total diſcouragement to induſtry, and the vexatious impoſts levied by the rulers have almoſt annihilated its once-profitable and flouriſhing trade.

The revenues of Cuttair are ſtated, in the imperial regiſter at Delhi, to be five millions ſterling. During the flouriſhing times of the empire, the face of the country will warrant the ſuppoſition, and under the Rohilla government, who paid unremitting attention to agriculture, the province might have yielded that ſum. After the conqueſt of Rohilcund by Shuja Dowla, an offer was made to that prince to rent the province for two millions. Since that period the revenues, from a variety of cauſes, have continued to decline; and under the preſent government, the province of *Cuttair* with difficulty yields the ſum of 36 lacks, or about 400,000l. ſterling.

Of the inhabitants there yet remains to ſpeak. The Rohillas *, who, it is well known, originally emigrated from the mountains of Afghaniſtaun, about 60 years ſince, ſettled in Cuttair. They are a hardy warlike race, equally capable of arms and huſbandry. Their feudal ſyſtem of government, ſimilar to thoſe of Europe in former days, has inſpired them with ideas of turbulence and ferocity; at the ſame time they are uncommonly patient under hadſhips, and attached to their chiefs by indiſſoluble bonds of national affection. But withal, in common with other Afghauns, they are crafty, treacherous, and revengeful. This characteriſtic national ſpirit, aided by the impetuous ſallies of a ferocious and uncivilized mind, renders difficult the government of this race. Hence frequent revolutions, civil broils at home, and wars abroad, have conſtantly marked the Rohilla government under its different rulers. Yet has it been evinced in more inſtances than one, that by kind and proper treatment even this generally-conſidered ferocious tribe may be rendered tractable: that when their peculiarities and prejudices are attended to by a wiſe and liberal government, they will prove not only good ſubjects, but even ſteady and faithful allies.

Shortly after the battle of Cuttera, Zulfica Al Dowla joined the vizir and the Britiſh forces. He was received with diſtinction, and the vizir nominated him to the Neabut of the vizarut, an office more honourable than lucrative, but accepted by the captain general with thankfulneſs. Shuja Dowla now thought proper to diſmiſs him;

* Conſult the account of the Rohilla Afghauns, publiſhed by the late Captain Charles Hamilton, of Bengal.

and in order to attach him more to his intereſts, gave a reinforcement of his own troops.

It has been ſeen that by the treaty of Delhi, Shuja Al Dowla had agreed to ſhare his conqueſts with the king, and to make an equal diviſion of the plunder acquired by the war. Conſonant to the ſpirit of this treaty, the captain general had come from Delhi in aid of the vizir: but the behaviour of Shuja on this occaſion was neither juſt nor honourable. Though immenſe plunder had been acquired in the late battle, his avaricious ſpirit prompted him to retain the whole to himſelf; and when urged by the captain general to deliver up the king's ſhare, he peremptorily declined it. A conduct, in every reſpect ſo unwarrantable, excited extreme diſguſt in the king's mind; but having made ſeveral fruitleſs and ineffectual endeavours to alter the vizir's reſolution, his majeſty at length deſiſted, and Nujuff Khan was compelled to return to Delhi.

Shuja Dowla, after ſettling the government of the province, and appointing Aumils to the ſeveral diſtricts, took his leave of the Britiſh commander in chief, and returned to Oude. During the remainder of that year, he employed himſelf in arranging the affairs of the province of Furrokabad, which was tributary to him; but having been long afflicted with a violent diſorder, which now returned with accumulated violence, notwithſtanding every exertion and aſſiſtance afforded by his phyſicians, he expired in his palace at Fyzabad *.

* In the month of January 1775.

An hiſtorian *, reſpectable for his talents, has informed the world that the reigning family in Oude were obſcure in their origin and of low birth; but as that information, from accounts procured at a later period, appears to be incorrect, we have, with that deference to fidelity which the impartiality of hiſtory demands, detailed a more authentic account † of the riſe of that family.

SAADUT KHAN.

Saadut Khan, ſon of Mirza Nuſſur Al Deen Hyder, known at firſt under the name of *Meer Mahomed Ameen*, was born in the city of Niſhapore, in the province of Khoraufaun. He was deſcended in a direct line from the Imaum Mouſa Kaſim, of the family of Ali, eſteemed in Perſia as of the higheſt and moſt noble extraction. Towards the concluſion of the reign of Behadur Shah, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Aurengzeeb, many Perſian families of diſtinction, retiring from the diſorders and civil wars which overwhelmed their native country, ſought an aſylum in Hindoſtaun. At that period Meer Mahomed Ameen, who had been bred to arms, became deſirous of ſignaliſing himſelf; and with the laudable hope of providing for his family, he bad adieu to his native country, and repaired to Lahore. He was received into the imperial ſervice, and ſhortly after took the name of Saadut Khan. By means of the friendſhip which he formed with ſeveral of the principal officers about the court, he

* Colonel Dow.

† In this detail the author has principally followed a ſmall genealogical work, entitled Owſaf Aſoph, or the Genealogy of Aſuf Al Dowla, the preſent vizir, which was procured by the friendſhip of Mr. George Johnſtone, many years reſident at Lucknow.

was introduced to the emperor's notice, and ſtood high in his favour, and continued ſo until his death. On the acceſſion of Mahmud Shah, Saadut Khan was created a noble of the empire; and through the influence of his great patron, Sirbullund Khan, he was nominated to the government of Akbarabad.—Increaſing in favour, he was appointed Soobadar of Oude, and at the ſame time preſented with the rank of 7000 horſe, and honoured with a new patent of nobility *. During the reign of Mahmud Shah he held with applauſe the higheſt offices of the ſtate; and by his ſucceſſes in Deccan, and on the frontiers of the empire, upheld the tottering fortunes of a weak and diſſolute government.

But in paying this tribute to his abilities, his conduct, when actuated by baſe and unworthy motives, muſt be equally reprobated.—At the memorable invaſion of Hindoſtaun by Nadir Shah, when his country became a prey to ſavage ferocity and lawleſs outrage, Saadut Khan, from ſelfiſh views and a ſpirit of inordinate ambition, excited the vengeance of the conqueror, and by appriſing him of the immenſe riches to be acquired by viſiting the capital, he brought incalculable calamity upon his ſovereign and his ſubjects †. He did not, however, live, as has been juſtly remarked, to reap the fruits of a conduct ſo treacherous, dying, ſhortly after the conqueror's entrance into Delhi, of a cancer in his back.

* His titles at length were Boorhan Al Mooluk, Itimaud Al Dowla Meer Mahmud Ameen Khan, Behadur Shoukut Jung. In Engliſh thus:

Pillar of the empire, confident Support of the State, Meer Mahmud Ameen Khan, the Glory of War.

† Conſult ſecond volume of Captain Scott's intereſting Hiſtory of the Succeſſors of Aurengzeeb.

SEFDAR JUNG.

When Saadut Khan quitted his native country, he left behind him an only ſiſter, married to a nobleman named Jaafer Beg. He promiſed at his departure, ſhould fortune prove favourable, to ſend for his family to Hindoſtaun, which he did accordingly. But Jaafer Beg had died and left two ſons, Abul Munſoor Khan and Mirza Mohuſſun, the former better known as Sefdar Jung. Theſe youths were received with affectionate regard by Saadut Khan; and to perpetuate the family honours, he beſtowed his only daughter in marriage to the elder brother. That princeſs, the grand mother of the reigning Nuwaub, is well known to the Britiſh nation. After living to the great age of ninety, ſhe expired a few years ſince at her palace in Oude. On the death of his uncle, the young Nawaub Sefdar Jung was confirmed by the king in his government of Oude; and on the departure of the Perſian conqueror, became a great favourite at the court of Mahmud Shah. Employed, like his predeceſſors, in diſtant parts of the empire, his ſucceſs was frequently brilliant; and he roſe gradually to the higheſt honours in the ſtate. In addition to the government of Allahabad, he was appointed to the office of Grand Maſter of the Artillery; and on the death of the celebrated Nizam Al Mooluk, was made vizir* of the empire, and dignified

* It was not then the ſon of a Perſian pedlar who ruled over Oude, but a man of birth and family; and whatever might have been his demerits, or political errors, his ſervices to his country entitle him, in every unprejudiced mind, to an appellation more honourable.

with honours and titles. He died in 1756, having the character of a daring and intrepid ſoldier, and eſteemed by his own ſubjects as a good man and upright magiſtrate.

SHUJA DOWLA.

Shuja Dowla, ſon and ſucceſſor of Sefdar Jung, was called in his younger * days Mirza Jelaul Addeen Hyder. Had this prince lived in the reign of Shah Jehan, or the Great Aurengzeeb, he might have attained a high character in the annals of the empire; but he was born at a period when the houſe of Timoor was rapidly declining, and the ſuperior genius of a foreign nation had acquired an aſcendency not to be overborn. Shuja Dowla, in his conteſt with the Engliſh, having raſhly eſpouſed the cauſe of the unfortunate Caſſim Ali, Nuwaub of Bengal, felt the effects of this aſcendency; and after two unceſsful attempts, perceiving his incapacity to reſiſt, he wiſely reſolved to conciliate the attention of his enemies. He was not deceived; the peace of 1765 (well known in Europe) placed him in a ſituation more eligible than what he held at the commencement of the war: for, excluſive of the reſtoration of the conquered provinces, he became the friend and ally of the Engliſh; and to

* It is cuſtomary in Hindoſtaun, and throughout ſeveral of the Aſiatic courts, to change the name of a prince on his acceſſion to the throne. Thus the famous Jehanguire was called *Selim*; Shah Jehan, *Khorrum*; Shuja Al Dowla, *Mirza Jelaul Addeen Hyder*; his ſon and ſucceſſor, Aſuf Al Dowla, was *Mirza Amauni*. Many other inſtances occur.

cement the union by ſtill cloſet ties, he aſked and obtained the aſſiſtance of a Britiſh force for the protection of his frontiers.

When releaſed from the afore-mentioned conteſt, Shuja Dowla directed his attention to the augmentation of his army, and to the management of the affairs of his own dominions, into the government of which great abuſes had been introduced. If we take his character comparatively, Shuja Al Dowla will be allowed conſiderable merit: active and vigorous in his mind, he was bold, daring, and enterpriſing, which he manifeſted on various occaſions, and in ſituations of danger and difficulty. His temper was iraſcible, which often led him to commit acts of cruelty; yet he was an excellent magiſtrate, a lover of juſtice, and anxiouſly deſirous of the proſperity of his country. To the internal economy of his government, he paid a rigid attention; and by his judicious and prudent arrangements, aided by the exertions of ſome very able officers, he cleared his dominions from the remains of a neſt of banditti which had long infeſted and diſgraced them. His conduct with regard to his neighbours, the Rohillas, was on every account the moſt exceptionable; and his hoſtile attempt to deſtroy their power evidently originated from a ſpirit of ambition, boundleſs as inordinate and reprehenſible: nor can his endeavours to extenuate his conduct by throwing the blame on the impolitic obſtinacy of the Rohillas in refuſing to diſcharge the ſtipulated ſum, in any ſhape juſtify the means he uſed to effect their deſtruction *.

* In the above detail it has been the author's intention to be guided by the ſtricteſt impartiality, neither wiſhing to exalt too high the character of any individual who merited praiſe, nor to abſtain from cenſure when it appeared deſerving.

CHAP. V.

Return of the Captain General to DELHI—*Acceſſion of* ASUF AL DOWLA *to the Government of* OUDE—*Embaſſy of* ILLUJ KHAN *to* DELHI—*Proceedings againſt* ZABITA KHAN—*Defeat of the King's Troops*—ZABITA KHAN *unites with the* SEIKS—*Succinct Account of that Nation*—*Occurrences.*

NUJUFF KHAN, on his arrival at Delhi, met with a reception different from his expectations. The king was diſguſted with him for not having inſiſted in a more reſolute manner upon the delivery of the diſtricts which had been ſtipulated in the late treaty with the vizir; and for omitting to urge his right to participate in the plunder acquired in the Rohilla war. Shah-Aulum, in fact, ſuſpected his miniſter to have been influenced on this occaſion more by an attention to his own intereſts than that of his ſovereign, as the vizir, previous to his departure, publicly beſtowed on Nujuff Khan the Neabut * of the vizarut. This ſuſpicion was diligently foſtered in the king's mind by the ſuggeſtions of Mujud Al Dowla, who now began to acquire an aſcendancy over his majeſty; and being jealous of the authority and influence of Nujuff Khan, reſolved to oppoſe him in every thing. The miniſter had long entertained hopes of that very appointment; but baffled in his exertions to attain it, he repre-

* The deputyſhip of the office of vizir, or his repreſentative at the court of Delhi.

ſented his rival as a perſon deſirous of advancing his own authority over that of his maſter. Nujuff Khan, however, had too powerful a party at court, as well as in the camp, to be eaſily ſupplanted; and the war againſt the Jauts requiring immediate attention, his majeſty appeared ſatisfied with the excuſes offered by Nujuff Khan.

The army again aſſembled, and the captain general led it without delay againſt the fort of Deig, the only place of conſequence that remained to the Jauts. Nujuff Khan having inveſted the fort on all ſides, and completed the blockade, detached a ſmall portion from his main body throughout the adjacent country, and reduced many of the Zemindars to obedience.

While the army lay before Deig, an embaſſy arrived in camp, ſent by the vizir Aſuff Al Dowla. That young prince, who ſucceeded to the Muſnud of Shuja Al Dowla, was eighteen years of age. On his acceſſion, it was deemed adviſeable to requeſt of Shah-Aulum a confirmation of his patent of the vizarut in his own name. For this purpoſe, Illuj Khan, a favourite ſervant, was deputed to Delhi, attended by a ſplendid ſuite, and carrying with him fifty lacks of rupees as a paiſhcuſh. After a ſhort ſtay in the camp, he proceeded on to the capital, where his ſucceſs at firſt fell ſhort of his expectations. The king did not appear inclined to expedite the patent; and under various pretences delayed giving a direct anſwer.—But a ſevere misfortune which at this time befel his majeſty's arms, cauſed an immediate and ready aſſent. Zabita Khan had again become refractory, and refuſed to forward the ſtipulated tribute to the royal treaſury; and was now prepared to ſupport his rebellion by

force of arms. Abdul Caſſem Khan, on the part of the king, was ordered to march an army to attack the rebel. Zabita Khan, who was poſted in Ghoſe Ghur, hearing of that nobleman's approach, marched boldly out, and offered him battle. A deſperate conflict enſued, and the event was on the point of proving favourable to the royal forces, when a body of Patan horſe, who had been planted in an ambuſcade by Zabita Khan at the commencement of the action, came ſuddenly out of the place, and fell upon the rear of the king's troops with ſuch fury as totally to diſcomfit them. The general was ſlain whilſt endeavouring to rally his men; and his fall threw the troops into ſuch diſorder, that it was with great difficulty Mujud Al Dowla, who ſucceeded to the command, was enabled to make good his retreat with a very ſmall party. Zabita Khan re-entered his fort in triumph.

Accounts of this fatal diſaſter arriving at court, created the greateſt conſternation and diſmay. Fortunately, however, for Shah-Aulum, at this critical moment he was relieved by the appearance of Lutaufut Khan, one of the vizir's officers, who brought along with him a body of 5000 troops, and a train of artillery, for the king's uſe. This ſalutary aid proved of the higheſt ſervice; and being relieved from any apprehenſions for the preſent, the court determined to gratify the vizir for the eſſential ſervice he had rendered. A patent was immediately made out, accompanied with the inſignia of office and valuable preſents; and the whole were ſent off with much pomp and ſolemnity under the charge of four commiſſioners named by the king for this expreſs purpoſe.

During theſe tranſactions, Nujuff Khan was ſtill employed before Deig: that fortreſs, which was uncommonly ſtrong and defended by a numerous garriſon, continued for more than a twelvemonth to bid defiance to the efforts of Nujuff Khan. The repeated and bloody aſſaults which were made by the garriſon had, however, much weakened their force, and the health of the Jaut prince beginning to decline, he entertained thoughts of ſubmiſſion; but before he had time to execute his reſolution, he was hurried off by death. Runjeet Sing, his brother, ſucceeded to the command: he was willing to continue the defence to the laſt extremity; but proviſions growing ſcarce, his troops mutinied, and he was compelled to withdraw privately from the fort.

Accordingly, availing himſelf of the opportunity of an extreme dark night, and taking with him his family and treaſures, accompanied by the greater part of the garriſon, he effected his eſcape. On the enſuing morning, the king's troops, who were prepared for an aſſault, were aſtoniſhed to find the walls unmanned, and no appearance of reſiſtance. The general at firſt ſuſpected a ſtratagem; but on a cloſer inſpection, perceiving the rebels had actually retired, he entered and took poſſeſſion.

A great quantity of ammunition and ſtores, with a train of artillery, were taken, but not much plunder, which circumſtance exaſperated the troops, and induced them to commit all ſorts of violence upon the defenceleſs inhabitants. Not content with inſulting them, they proceeded to attack their Pagodas, where they broke and demoliſhed the idols, in ſpite of the prayers and intreaties urged by

the poor wretches in behalf of their altars. On the capture of Deig, all the remaining part of the Jaut country ſubmitted; and as heavy fines were impoſed by the general upon the different Zemindars, he continued to fill his treaſury, which enabled him to diſcharge the arrears of his troops; at the ſame time he ordered a general rejoicing throughout the camp.

The embaſſy afore mentioned arriving at the ſame time, Nujuff Khan availed himſelf on the occaſion to ſhew his reſpect to the vizir, by entertaining the commiſſioners in the moſt ſplendid manner. He feaſted them for ſeveral days, and then diſmiſſed them with additional preſents.

The conqueſt of the Jauts being now complete, Nujuff Khan directed his attention to the collection of the revenues, and in reforming the abuſes which had prevailed during the war. But in the midſt of his arrangements, he was ſuddenly called off by letters received from Delhi, which required his immediate preſence at that city. Zabita Khan, whoſe ſucceſs, as already related, had inflamed his reſentment and excited his ambition, was reſolved to perſiſt in his rebellion, and actually threatened Delhi with a ſiege. Previous, however, to proceeding to open hoſtilities, he augmented his army, and took into his pay large bodies of *Seiks*.

He formed, moreover, connections with ſome of the principal chiefs of that nation; and in order to render this alliance the more effectual, he embraced the tenets of this extraordinary ſect, and became a convert to their faith. The part which the Seiks have borne

in the tranſactions of later times in the upper parts of Hindoſtaun, juſtify an attempt to deſcribe their origin and progreſſive advancement to authority in the empire.

During the reigns of Akbar, Jehanguire, Shah Jehan and Aurengzeeb, the annals of Hindoſtaun exhibit a ſeries of events and brilliant actions which raiſed the empire to the firſt ſtation in the hiſtory of Aſia. Emulating the conduct of their founder the great Timoor, thoſe princes whilſt they trod in his ſteps rendered their dominions floriſhing and their people happy, and the power of that auguſt family appeared eſtabliſhed on ſo ſolid a baſis as to bid defiance to the fluctuating and capricious changes of fortune; but the ſeeds of diſſolution and decay were internally generated even in the height of their proſperity; and the indolence, folly and effeminacy, of the princes of later times, overthrew the fabrick of power, and buried the authority of the houſe of Timoor under its ruins. Out of the ſhipwreck of its former grandeur, ſeveral new and independent ſtates aroſe. To the *Seiks*, among others, may be aſſigned an intereſting ſtation; obſcure in their origin, in a remote part of the province of Lahoor, this tribe had nothing but novelty to recommend itſelf or attract notice.

In the reign of the Emperor Baber, *Nanick Shah*, founder of the tribe, was born at a ſmall village named Tulbindee, in the province of Lahoor; at an early period of life, this extraordinary perſon, who poſſeſſed a good capacity and amiable manners, forſook the world, and devoted himſelf to a life of religious auſterity. In this recluſe ſtate, aided by the effuſions of a fervid imagination, Nanick framed

a ſyſtem of religion, compoſed from the ſpeculative and contemplative theories of Muſſulman divinity; which he delivered to his numerous followers as of divine origin. This book he termed Gurrunt, which, in the Punjabee dialect, implies ſcriptural. Nanick, after reaching his nintieth year, expired peaceably, and was buried at Amrit Seer, where his tomb to the preſent day attracts the attention, and animates the piety of his numerous diſciples. He left two children, Lucſmi Doſs and Sree Chund.

At his death, Nanick Shah, with a view to render permanent his new ſyſtem, ordained that the ſucceſſion ſhould be elective and not hereditary, an ordination which, as it precluded the ſupreme authority from remaining in one family, placed the benevolent and diſintereſted views of the founder in a light truly amiable. Sree Chund, who found means to ſecure his election, preſided over the tribe for ſeveral years, and, at his death, Angajee ſucceeded. But this cuſtom, though it obtained for ſome time, was at length ſet aſide, and Gooroo Ram was the firſt who eſtabliſhed an hereditary ſucceſſion.

The tribe continuing to increaſe by the vaſt number of converts which it had acquired, had not hitherto attracted the notice of the neighbouring powers; occupied in paying a ſcrupulous adherence to the laws and ordinations of their founder, the Seiks were looked upon as harmleſs, inoffenſive devotees; but the period was at hand when they were to act a different part, and to contend with vigour againſt imperial authority. Teigh Behadur, whoſe actions and misfortunes render his name memorable, was the firſt who took

up arms againſt the officers of Aurengzeeb, till after many bloody encounters with the king's troops, he was at length overcome, taken priſoner, and put to death. His ſucceſſors, animated by revenge, continued a predatory war with the deſcendants of Aurengzeeb, and, during the ſtruggle, the Seiks acquired a conſiderable addition of territory. Among the moſt memorable of theſe chiefs, was Bundah, who, after a long and ſevere conteſt, was taken priſoner, carried to Delhi, and there ſuffered with heroic fortitude an ignominious death *.

In the reign of Ahumud Shah the tribe became very formidable. Profiting by the diſturbances which then prevailed in every part of the empire, the Seiks again made head againſt the government, and with far better ſucceſs. They conquered the whole of the Punjab, (or country included within the five rivers which fall into the Indus) and even puſhed their arms beyond it.

In the laſt reign (Aulum Geer the Second) their dominions were bounded on the weſt by the country of Cabul, and extended eaſtward to the vicinity of Delhi, north by a range of high mountains, and to the ſouthweſt they embraced the province of Moultan and the city of Tatta, ſituated on the banks of the Indus. Lahoor, the capital of Punjab, was ſelected as their chief city of reſidence, and as ſuch has ſince continued. They poſſeſs many large towns, and among the principal are thoſe of Puttiali, Hurrial, Loeh Ghur,

* See a particular account of this enterpriſing chief in Captain Scott's ſecond volume of the Hiſtory of Deccan. Article *Furrok Seer*.

Serhind, Shahabad, and Tanaſſer. The Seik territories are ſaid to contain prodigious quantities of cattle, horſes, oxen, cows, and ſheep; and grain of various kinds is produced in abundance. The precious metals are very ſcarce; and their trade is for that reaſon chiefly carried on by barter, eſpecially in the manufacturing towns.

At Pattiali they make excellent cloth, and fire arms ſuperior to moſt parts of Hindoſtaun. The collected force of the Seiks is immenſe, they being able to bring into the field an army of 250,000* men, a force apparently terrific, but, from want of union among themſelves, not much to be dreaded by their neighbours. Divided into diſtinct diſtricts, each chief rules over the portion appropriated to him with uncontroled ſway; and tenacious of his authority, and

* The following table, which was delivered to the author by a Seik chief when at Pannepat in 1793-4, will exhibit the ſituation of the different chiefs at that period.

	Men
Beejee Sing	12,000
Tanah Sing	22,000
Jeſſah Sing	14,000
Kurrun Sing (of Shahabad)	12,000
Jeſſah Sing (of Ramghur)	12,000
Jundut Sing (of Amrit Seer)	24,000
Khoſal Sing (of Fuzoolah Pore)	22,000
Herri Sing (on the confines of Moultan)	40,000
Runjet Sing (of Loch Ghur)	70,000
Shahur Sing (of Pattiali), Loll Sing, Jufwaunt Sing (of Nawbeh), Gujput Sing (of Chunda), and other chiefs	20,000
Total	248,000

jealous of his brethren, it ſeldom happens that this nation makes an united effort *.

The Seiks are armed with a ſpear, ſcymetar, and excellent match-lock. Their horſes are ſtrong, very patient under hardſhip, and undergo incredible fatigue. The men are accuſtomed to charge on full gallop, on a ſudden they ſtop, diſcharge their pieces with a deliberate aim, when ſuddenly wheeling about, after performing three or four turns, they renew the attack. The ſhock is impreſſive when offered only to infantry, but againſt artillery they cannot ſtand. It is a fact well known and eſtabliſhed, that a few field pieces is ſufficient to keep in check their moſt numerous bodies. Inured from their infancy to the hardſhips of a military life, the Seiks are addicted to predatory warfare, in a manner peculiar to themſelves alone. When determined to invade a neighbouring province, they aſſemble at firſt in ſmall numbers on the frontier, when having firſt demanded the *raki* or tribute, if it be complied with, they retire peaceably; but when this is denied, hoſtilities commence, and the Seiks, in their progreſs, are accuſtomed to lay waſte the country on all ſides, carrying along with them as many of the inhabitants as

* The alarm once excited in the Britiſh government of the formidable power of this nation, might be obviated by obſerving, that the diſcordant and claſhing intereſts of the reſpective Seik chiefs prevent almoſt the poſſibility of a general union; and even if diſpoſed to attack the territory of our ally, the vizir, they would be neceſſitated to keep a watchful eye over their own territories, which would be left open to invaſion from the north. It is well known that Zemaun Shah, the king of Cabul, is deſirous of ſharing in the fertile province of Punjab, and eſpecially of getting poſſeſſion of Lahoor, emphatically termed the key of Hindoſtaun. His late attack at the end of 1796, is a proof of this aſſertion.

they can take priſoners, and all the cattle. The priſoners are detained as ſlaves, unleſs redeemed by a pecuniary compenſation.—But though fond of plunder, the Seiks, in the interior parts of their country, preſerve good order, and a regular government: and the cultivation of their lands is attended with much aſſiduity. Their revenues are collected at two ſtated periods of ſix months each; and by an equitable adjuſtment between the proprietor and cultivator, the latter is allowed a fifth part as the reward of his labour.

Of their religion much information has not as yet been acquired; but it has been remarked by an ingenious and ſpirited hiſtorian, that in the act of receiving proſelytes, they compel them to the performance of an act equally abhorrent to the principles of the Hindoo or Mahommedan faith *. Yet, notwithſtanding the nature of their ceremonies, it is certain they continue to gain numerous converts.

The Seiks, in their perſons, are tall, and of a manly erect deportment; their aſpect is ferocious, their eyes piercing and animated; and in tracing their features a ſtriking reſemblance is obſervable to the *Arabs* who inhabit the banks of the Euphrates. The dreſs of the males conſiſts of a coarſe cloth of blue cotton, thrown looſely over the ſhoulders, and coming down between the legs, is confined round the waiſt by a belt of cotton. An ample turban of blue cloth covers the head, and over this is frequently wore a ſaſh of ſilk and cotton mixed, reſembling both in colour and pattern a *Scotch*

* By obliging the Muſſulmaun to drink water, in which ſome Seiks have waſhed their feet, mixed with hog's blood, and the Hindoo with that of a cow. See Captain Scott, Vol. II. article *Furrok Seer*.

Tartan. They ſpeak the Aufghaun or Pooſhto language, with prolific additions of Perſian, Arabic, and Hindoovee *.

From this digreſſion let us proceed to relate the tranſactions at court. Shah-Aulum, who was enraged at Zabita Khan for his repeated acts of inſolence and diſreſpect, reſolved to take the field in perſon, and had for this purpoſe, as above remarked, ordered the captain general from Deig. On the miniſter's arrival, the king marched out and encamped.

At a ſecret conference held on the occaſion, it was reſolved, previous to commencing hoſtilities, to make one effort to perſuade the rebel to return to his duty; though had a retroſpect of his former conduct been taken, they would have foreſeen the inſufficiency of any but reſolute meaſures. Agreeably to this reſolve, Rajah Daieram, Himmut Behadur, and Lutafut, were ſent to Sehaurunpore to treat and offer terms; but for fear of an unſucceſsful iſſue, the king and the general followed with the army. The deputation at firſt

* In the year 1793-4, the author was at Panneput in company with Major Charles Reynolds, of the Bombay eſtabliſhment, employed by the Britiſh government on a ſurvey through the Doo Ab; the reſult of which, when communicated to the public, will no doubt prove a valuable addition to the geography already acquired. At that time he ſaw a body of Seiks then in the ſervice of the great Sindiah; they were about one thouſand in number, under the command of Doolchee Sing, from whoſe brother moſt of the information above mentioned was received. The author has to apologiſe for giving a ſketch ſo imperfect, though he is happy to learn there is another and far better account already before the public from the late Colonel James Browne, of the Bengal eſtabliſhment, but which account the author has not ſeen. The account here given ſtands merely on his own reſearches.

gave hopes of a peaceful termination. A conference took place between the captain general, Mujud Al Dowla, and Zabita Khan; but unhappily a miſunderſtanding aroſe, which proceeded to violent altercation on both ſides. Whether Zabita Khan, who was of a turbulent and haughty ſpirit, could not brook the manner of the king's miniſters, who talked in a high ſtrain, or whether he was determined at all events on reſiſtance, has not been clearly aſcertained. From whatever cauſe it aroſe, he was obſerved as he came out of the tent to be uncommonly agitated; and without waiting for the miniſters to accompany and introduce him, repaired directly to the royal tent. Having paid his reſpects to the king, he withdrew to his own camp; and ſuddenly, without aſſigning any reaſon for ſuch a conduct, ſtruck his tents and went into fort. Notwithſtanding ſo glaring and inſolent a conduct, the king did not proceed to the immediate puniſhment of the rebel. On the contrary, he was perſuaded, through the mediation of Lutafut, who, it is aſſerted, was bribed largely on the occaſion, to pardon him. Zabita Khan was, therefore, invited to court, and, on promiſing ſubmiſſion, was again confirmed in his government of Sehaurunpore. The army returned to Delhi.

CHAP. VI.

Revolt of the Rajah of JYPORE—*Succinct Account of the Principalities of* OUDIPORE—JOUDPORE *and* JYPORE—*The King marches to* JYPORE—*Taking of* NARNOUL *and* DHANSNEY—*Diſgrace of* MUJUD AL DOWLA—*Death of Prince* FURKHINDA BUKHT—*Death and Character of* NUJUFF KHAN.

ON the return of the royal army to Delhi, Nujuff Khan, who had lately been appointed to the government of Agrah, repaired to that province: about this time news arrived at court of the death of Madhoo Sing, ruler of Jypore, and of the acceſſion of Pertaub Sing, a youth of twelve years of age, to his father's government. The conſiderable ſhare which this prince bore in the tranſactions of the court of Delhi, juſtify our taking a retroſpective view of the provinces of Oudipore, Joudpore, and Jypore, or the countries denominated by geographers *Rajpootana* *.

When the Moguls firſt entered Hindoſtaun, they found the inhabitants in general effeminate and luxurious, and in conſequence incapable of oppoſing with effect thoſe hardy bands who at firſt under Zingis Khan, and afterwards his deſcendant, the Great Timoor, ac-

* Conſult the excellent memoir of a map of Hindoſtaun by Major Rennel, to whom the author begs leave to return his thanks for his liberal and polite attention in permitting him to copy the map prefixed to this volume.

quired a ſucceſſion of conqueſts, and finally laid the foundation of the Mogul empire in Hindoſtaun in the perſon of Baber, ſixth in deſcent from Timoor.

But however competent to overturn the Patan government, they found it more difficult to ſubdue the great Rajpoot principalities.—The princes of thoſe countries, who were the aboriginal ſovereigns of Hindoſtaun, inherited from their anceſtors a high and warlike ſpirit, which, added to the natural advantages of their ſituation, in countries ſurrounded by high mountains and interſected by narrow vallies and numerous defiles, rendered hazardous a foreign invaſion. The Rajpoot princes therefore continued long to reſiſt with effect the valour and diſcipline of the Mogul troops; and the different ſovereigns of the houſe of Timoor, after repeated, but ineffectual, ſtruggles to reduce them by force, were in the end neceſſitated to adopt a method more conciliatory. The firſt princes of the race of Timoor not only invited them to the capital, and heaped upon them honours and dignities of all kinds, but were accuſtomed to intermarry with their families, a circumſtance, which, if the tenacious adherence of the Hindoos to preſerve their blood pure and uncontaminated be conſidered, would appear diſgraceful; but an alliance with the ſovereign was, among the Hindoos, deemed honourable by the ancient uſages of their country.

The great acquiſition of intereſt thus obtained by the Rajpoot princes, the ſecurity of their poſſeſſions, and, above all, the proſpect of their deſcendants mounting the throne, were motives that inſured a cheerful acquieſcence in the propoſed alliances, and abated their

ardent love of independence, and contributed to render them contented in their tributary ſtate. Accordingly, during the reigns of Jehanguire, Shah Jehan, and Aurengzeeb, the Rajpoot princes, were gradually allied to royal blood *.

Rajpootanah †, or country of the Rathore Rajpoots, in the imperial regiſter is included in the province of Agimere. From Jypore, one of the principal cities, it extends 168 coſes ‡ to its north-weſtern boundary of Bekaneer, a city which ſkirts the confines of the deſart; to the eaſtward it extends 150 coſes, and is bounded on that quarter by Agrah; weſt by the city of Debalpore, on the banks of the Suttluz; and ſouth by the province of Guzerat.

The principal river, the Puddar, riſes in the mountainous part of the country; and, after traverſing a vaſt extent, is diſcharged into the ſea, near the gulph of Kutch.

Within the afore-mentioned tract are the cities of Oudipore, Joudpore, and Jypore, including the ſtrong fortreſſes of Cheitore and Rintimpore; the former memorable for reſiſting the arms of the emperor Akbar; and the latter for having afforded an aſylum to the families of Shah Jehan and Aurengzeeb, when in rebellion againſt their parents. Theſe countries abound in cotton, opium, indigo,

* See Dow's Hindoſtaun—*paſſim.*

† In this deſcription the author has availed himſelf of a Perſian MS. intitled *Hadeeka Al Akaulcem*, or a geographical account of ſeveral of the principal cities and provinces of Hindoſtaun. It is written by a learned native, and contains much curious and uſeful information.

‡ Coſs is equal to two Britiſh miles.

tobacco, and grain of various kinds, moſt of which articles are exported to Ahumudabad, the capital of Guzerat, which returns the manufactures of Europe and Perſia. They have alſo a breed of excellent horſes, which are in general uſe among the Marhatta armies. While the empire flouriſhed, the revenues of the Agimere province were eſtimated at twenty-ſix millions; and the different Rajahs, when united, could bring into the field an army of 200,000 men, a force truly formidable, and which proved frequently fatal to the Mogul princes, even in the zenith of their power and authority. To conclude our remarks on this ſingular people, in the words of a ſpirited hiſtorian *, "their ſituation enabled them to retaliate injuries in the "center of the empire; but attached to their ſoil, as ground on "which their deities as well as their anceſtors had lived, few of "their princes had been ambitious of increaſing their territory."

Towards the cloſe of the laſt century, Jyſing, a prince no leſs celebrated for his warlike talents than for his reputation as a philoſopher and a cultivator of the arts, founded the modern city of Jypore, which he called Jynagghar. It is ſituated in the central parts of Rajpootanah, and about 140 miles weſt of Agrah. The town is handſome and well built; the houſes are of ſtone, and the ſtreets, which are large and ſpacious, interſect each other at right angles. A citadel, which commands the town, is built upon a ſteep rock, around which extends a chain of fortifications four miles in circumference. In the town is to be ſeen an obſervatory, erected by the prince aforementioned, to which, during his life time, many eminent and

* Orme's Hiſtorical Fragments.

learned men were invited, where the ſcience of aſtronomy was aſſiduouſly cultivated.

This city has of late years increaſed in commerce and opulence; for ſince the communication through the province of Lahoor has been ſtopped by the Seiks, the merchants from the north have been accuſtomed to enter Hindoſtaun by the route of Jypore. Rock ſalt, iron, and copper, are found in the province; and its revenues are eſtimated at five millions ſterling.

The inhabitants are wholly Hindoos; and their manners are repreſented by travellers to be hoſpitable and unaffected. Since the death of Jyſing, who may be conſidered as the founder of the preſent family, there has been a ſucceſſion of four princes *. Purtaub Sing, who, as already remarked, was a minor in the hands of his guardians, from inexperience was incapable of governing and entirely under the guidance of others. During the late diſturbances, his miniſters taking advantage of the abſence of the royal army, had neglected to ſend to court the cuſtomary tribute, which Shah-Aulum was determined to puniſh. He accordingly aſſembled the army, the command of which was given to the Nawaub Mujud Al Dowla. This nobleman, eager to gratify his own ambition, had long beheld with impatience the authority of Nujuff Khan: he thought the preſent opportunity favourable to his views; and the abſence of the captain general, who was employed in the Agrah province, gave him hopes of eſtabliſhing his aſcendancy over the mind of his ſovereign,

* Jyſing Sewaii, Alſeri Sing, Prithi Sing, Madhoo Sing.

and by the reduction of the Jypore country fix himſelf in power without controul.

The army being aſſembled, Mujud Al Dowla, accompanied by the king marched againſt Rewari, a large town in the dominions of Pertaub Sing, the place after a ſhort reſiſtance ſubmitted, as did alſo the forts of Narnoul and Dhanſney. The ſucceſs of theſe operations induced Mujud Al Dowla to carry the king to a greater diſtance, and to propoſe to his majeſty to extend his circuit through the provinces of Agimere, under pretext of paying his devotions at the ſhrine of a Mahomedan ſaint. This plan which was to ſeparate the king from Nujuff Khan, would in all probability have ſucceeded, had not a circumſtance occurred which baffled his ſchemes, and led in the end to important conſequences. Nujuff Khan hearing of the late ſucceſſes, and perceiving the increaſed influence of Mujud Al Dowla, ventured on a perſonal viſit to the royal camp; and leaving the care of Agrah to his friend Mahomed Beg Khan, he began his march towards Jypore. The miniſters of Pertaub Sing, after the loſſes afore mentioned, finding farther reſiſtance vain, now made overtures of ſubmiſſion in the name of their maſter, and a negociation accordingly commenced. A large paiſhcuſh was offered on the part of the young Rajah, and profeſſions of loyalty and attachment in his future conduct.—Pending this treaty, Nujuff Khan, who was informed of the circumſtance, reſolved it ſhould not be terminated until his own arrival. He therefore, diſpatched an expreſs to the king, requeſting that the treaty ſhould not be concluded without him; and on his own authority forbade the Jypore Vakeel to proceed any farther in the affair. Com-

mands dictated in terms ſo forcible had the deſired effect, and Shah-Aulum was compelled to acquaint Mujud Al Dowla of his acquieſcence in the demands of his rival.

In a few days the army of Nujuff Khan arrived in the neighbourhood of the royal camp, and, to do the general honour, his majeſty ſent his third ſon, the Prince Yezdan Bukht, to meet and conduct him to the preſence. A private conference was held on the occaſion, and Mujud Al Dowla was convinced that the authority of his rival was too powerful to be overthrown. Pertaub Sing was now ordered to repair to the royal camp, and on preſenting an offering of five lacks of rupees, received his majeſty's pardon, and was reſtored to the government of the Jypore province. The army then returned to Delhi, where Nujuff Khan, ſoon after his arrival, celebrated the nuptials of his youngeſt daughter with the Nawaub Nujuff Cooly Khan. The marriage was honoured by the king's preſence, and in a few days after Nujuff Khan returned to Agrah.

During the remainder of the current year, little occurs at Delhi worthy of notice; but the enſuing ſeaſon exhibited a new ſcene of action, and occaſioned a conſiderable alteration on the face of affairs at court. The Seiks, who for ſeveral years had confined themſelves to their own territories, now ſuddenly appeared in great numbers on the frontiers. A great force under different leaders having aſſembled, entered the king's territories, and commenced their uſual courſe of plunder and devaſtation. They ſoon penetrated as far as Carnal, a large city 100 miles north of the capital. Of this they took poſſeſſion, and diſperſed their parties in various

directions to overrun the province of Delhi. To repel this daring invaſion, Mujud Al Dowla, accompanied by Furkhinda Bukht, a prince of the royal family, were ordered to take the field. Twenty thouſand men, with a reſpectable train of artillery, were ſoon ready to march. Advancing by eaſy marches along the weſtern bank of the river Jumna, the royal army reached Carnal without interruption. At this place Runjeet Sing and Deo Sing, two of the principal leaders of the Seiks, diſpatched a vakeel to camp with offers of ſubmiſſion. They promiſed a puiſhcuſh of three lacks of rupees, and to recal their aſſociates from their predatory incurſions. Mujud Al Dowla acquieſceing in the propoſal, thoſe chiefs were directed to attend the royal army in its future progreſs. Accordingly having evacuated the town of Carnal, they joined the miniſter. From Carnal, Mujud Al Dowla advanced to Puttiali, a town 60 coſes north of the latter, and ſituated on the Seik frontier. That place was defended by Amur Sing, who with a numerous garriſon, and abundance of proviſions, reſolved to ſuſtain a ſiege. Amur Sing had, however, other motives for reſiſtance; he was aware that a large reinforcement of Seiks had left Lahore, and might ſhortly be expected at Puttiali; nor was he without hope that even in the event of their non-arrival, and the town being hard preſſed, but that he ſhould be able to gain over the miniſter to his views, by the aid of all-powerful gold. However this might have been, Mujud Al Dowla beſieged the place in form; but many days had not elapſed, when it was announced to the army, that a negociation for peace was in train. Amur Sing conſenting to become tributary, commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides to draw up an amicable treaty. The conferences accordingly commenced; but an act of treachery

on the part of the Seiks, and in which it was ſuſpected the miniſter had a conſiderable ſhare, ſuddenly diſſolved the meeting. To relate with preciſion the circumſtances which led to this breach of faith, we muſt recollect that the Seik chieftains, who had ſubmitted at Carnal, were ſtill in the royal camp. They having received advice of the expected reinforcement of their countrymen being near at hand, ſent notification of it to Amar Sing; at the ſame time adviſing that chief by ſome means or other to break off the treaty then pending.

Agreeably to this information, Amar Sing exhibited to the commiſſioners many ſhuffling evaſions and pretexts; and to this was added an haughty and contemptuous behaviour, which could not be miſtaken. Rajah Daieram, the chief commiſſioner, perceiving his drift, quitted the town of Pattiali, and with his aſſociates returned to camp.

Meanwhile the traitors there endeavoured by ſtudied reſpect to preclude all ſuſpicion of their fidelity in the mind of the miniſter. Mujud Al Dowla ſaid nothing; and his ſhameful ſupineneſs on this occaſion in ſuffering the inſults ſuſtained by the royal commiſſioners at Pattiali to paſs unnoticed, afforded additional proofs of his colluſion in the diſgraceful ſcene. Early on the following morning, Runjeet Sing and his aſſociate ſuddenly left the camp: a party was directed to go in purſuit of them; this party had ſcarcely cleared the advanced poſts of the army, when they diſcovered the van guard of an immenſe hoſt of Seiks, who by forced marches had advanced thus far unnoticed. At the ſame inſtant Amar Sing, of

Pattiali, iſſuing out of the fort, covered the retreat of the traitors, and with them ſhortly after joined the troops from Lahoor. The Seiks now made a violent attack on all ſides: accuſtomed to a deſultory mode of warfare, they charged the line in ſeveral parts at once, and by the fierceneſs of their onſet, threw the king's troops into confuſion. The whole army would now have been ſacrificed had not the officer who commanded in the rear, by a well-directed fire of his artillery, given a timely check to the enemy. The king's troops were, however, compelled to retire; and for four days made a diſgraceful and diſorderly retreat. On the fifth day, the army reached Panniput, under the walls of which they encamped. Here the Seiks quitted them; and unſatiated with ſucceſs, and fiercely thirſting for plunder, they divided into ſeparate columns, and croſſing the Jumna, ſpread themſelves over the upper parts of the Doo Ab, committing every where acts of cruelty, devaſtation, and death.

The late diſgraceful ſcenes had excited in the army univerſal indignation againſt Mujud Al Dowla. On him the eyes of all men were bent; and numbers ſcrupled not openly to accuſe him of having been bribed by the Seiks to betray the king's intereſts, and devote his army to utter ruin. If, indeed, it be conſidered that a finer and better appointed army never marched from Delhi, that they were fluſhed with recent ſucceſſes, and animated by the preſence of a prince of the blood; that this army ſhould be incompetent to ſuſtain the ſhock of a tumultuous rabble, appeared incredible in the eyes of all men, and proved the reproaches thrown on the miniſter to be ſtrictly merited. Even after the enemy had re-

tired, inſtead of remaining on the frontier to recover his ſoldiers from their late depreſſion, he, as if panic ſtruck, marched precipitately to the capital, thereby leaving the whole country expoſed in his rear, and the wretched inhabitants a prey to the ravages of thoſe barbarous invaders. But he was ſoon to receive a puniſhment adequate to his deſerts.

Intelligence of this diſaſtrous event arriving at Delhi, conſternation and diſmay ſeized on all. The king was highly incenſed at the baſe conduct of Mujud Al Dowla; and to prevent farther ill conſequences, required the immediate attendance of the captain general. It was indeed high time for ſome effectual interference. On one hand the Seiks were filling the Doo Ab with outrage and devaſtation, while on the other ſeveral of the Zemindars, availing themſelves of the confuſion of the times, roſe in arms in many parts of the country.

The miniſter, who by this time had reached Delhi, on his arrival laboured inceſſantly to remove from the king's mind all ſuſpicion of his fidelity. He entered into a long defence of his conduct, wherein he attempted to prove that the late diſaſter was imputable not to his want of attachment, but to the common accidents of war; that for himſelf he had ever been one of the foremoſt in zeal and exertion for his majeſty's ſervice.

Shah-Aulum, who was not in a condition as yet to refute the arguments of his miniſter, (that nobleman's guards having poſſeſſion of the palace) apparently accepted his apologies; but the ſequel

inclined all thinking perſons to conclude, that the king was in his own mind reſolved on his diſgrace. It muſt here be remembered that Mujud Al Dowla, from his extenſive influence at court, had a ſtrong party in his favour in the army; that he, moreover, was in poſſeſſion of the king's perſon and the citadel, and therefore reſolved to oppoſe his enemies by force of arms. It was juſtly feared that the contention between the rival chiefs would, to the citizens of Delhi, be attended with conſiderable miſchief, if not of bloodſhed.

Theſe alarms, however, were happily ſubdued by the conduct and dexterity of the captain general, who was now on his way to the capital. By means of his emiſſaries, diſperſed throughout the city, he, by large bribes and promiſes of preferment, drew over to his own views the leading chiefs of the miniſter's party. Secure on this head, he heſitated not to carry his deſigns into inſtant execution.

On his arrival in the neighbourhood, the prince Furkhinda Bukht and Mujud Al Dowla were ordered to meet and conduct the captain general to court. Prior to Mujud Al Dowla's quitting the citadel, he received information of the intended combination againſt him. He was told of the deſigns of his enemies to ſeize him, and of the king's acquieſcence and ſecret indignation toward him: finally, they recommended him to be upon his guard; and, in the ſtrongeſt manner, urged him to remain within the citadel, where, with the force he poſſeſſed, he might bid defiance to the united efforts of his enemies. Staggered at the unexpected intelligence, the miniſter for a moment pauſed. But impelled by an unaccountable infatuation, he

relied on the king's perſonal favour, and, maugre the intreaties of his friends, reſolved to go on.

Scarcely had the prince's retinue quitted the city, when Afraſiab Khan, a young ſoldier of fortune, who had been bred in the camp and in the family of Zulficar Al Dowla, at the head of 500 horſe, ſeized on the gate; thence proceeding to the citadel, he compelled the garriſon, who had been ſtationed there by Mujud Al Dowla, to lay down their arms and evacuate the fort. They obeyed: the ſpirited youth then took poſſeſſion for Shah-Aulum in the name of his benefactor. The king having taken no notice of this tranſaction, it was ſuppoſed his majeſty was appriſed of the whole plan prior to its execution.

By this time the prince and Mujud Al Dowla had reached the camp of the captain general. After a few complimentary ceremonies, the miniſter was informed that he was no more to viſit the king. Perceiving his diſgrace inevitable, he begged leave to return to his palace in the city. This was allowed, but a guard was ſent along with him; and ſhortly after the whole of his property, amounting to more than twenty lacks of rupees, was ſeized, and confiſcated to the uſe of the captain general.

In a court ſo fruitful of revolutions as Delhi, the removal or death of a miniſter is in general viewed by the people with perfect apathy and indifference: yet on this occaſion, Mujud Al Dowla's conduct in the late expedition had excited a diſguſt among all ranks; which, added to his former acts of rapacity and oppreſſion to ſupply the

extravagance of the court, altogether rendered his diſgrace juſtly merited.

Zulficar Al Dowlah, on his preſentation at court, was received by Shah-Aulum with marks of the moſt affectionate reſpect. In return he made an offering of four lacks of rupees, together with ſome beautiful Perſian horſes for the uſe of the king's ſtable. The palace of the late vizir Cummir Aldeen Khan was aſſigned for the reſidence of the new miniſter, who from henceforth determined to fix his reſidence at Delhi.

The diſmiſſion of Mujud Al Dowla from all his employments occaſioned ſome alterations in the arrangement of offices. At the recommendation of the captain general, the prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht was made ſuperintendant of the bathing apartments; prince Furkhinda Bukht, Meer Atuſh, or Grand Maſter of Artillery; and his majeſty honoured the captain general himſelf with the high office of Vakeel Mutluck, or Abſolute Director General of the affairs of the empire.

The commencement of 1781 was taken up in preparations for puniſhing the Seiks. That lawleſs banditti were ſtill ravaging the upper parts of the Doo Ab. To chaſtiſe them, Mirza Shuffee Khan, a young nobleman who poſſeſſed great military experience, was detached from the capital with a body of twelve thouſand men, and a ſuitable train of artillery. After croſſing the Jumna, he went in queſt of the enemy; and after ſeveral ineffectual ſkirmiſhes and

a deſultory warfare, he at laſt brought them to a general and deciſive action.

On the 15th of Auguſt, under the walls of Meerut, he attacked them with great gallantry and ſpirit: the king's troops, ſtimulated by the remembrance of their diſgrace the preceding year, and burning for revenge, exerted on this occaſion their utmoſt efforts to make an honourable amend. Succeſs crowned their wiſhes in a total overthrow of the enemy with a terrible ſlaughter. Sahib Sing, their leader, with ſeveral other commanders of note, were ſlain on the ſpot, and upwards of 5000 men. Diſpirited at this loſs, the Seiks returned in the utmoſt confuſion, croſſed the Jumna with precipitation, and finally took refuge in their own territories, which afforded relief to the miſerable inhabitants over whom for the ſpace of ſeveral months they had exerciſed the moſt uncontroled and unbounded ſeverity.

After the victory, Mirza Shuffee Khan humanely directed his attention to the diſtreſſes of the inhabitants; and to afford them ſolid proofs of his benevolent intentions, he, in the name of his majeſty, granted them a remiſſion of taxes for a year.

Order being once more reſtored, he returned in triumph to the capital. Had the advantages we have above detailed been purſued with a vigour proportionate to the occaſion, there is no doubt but the moſt ſubſtantial benefits would have acrued to the royal cauſe. The enemy were totally diſpirited with their loſſes; and by natural conſequence, were at variance with each other, and incapable of

reſiſtance. Here then was a moſt favourable opportunity afforded for extending the king's influence from the environs of his capital even to the Attock; and of eſtabliſhing his authority on ſo ſecure and permanent a baſe as in future to have effectually precluded all attempts of his ambitious neighbours, or, what was to him of more conſequence, to keep within bounds his own rebellious ſubjects.—Unfortunately for the ſtate, theſe advantages were not followed up; nor could the prime miniſter be prevailed on to re-aſſemble the army for an invaſion of the Punjab. He was now advancing in years, and had become indolent, to which it might be added the miniſter could not without jealouſy behold the abilities and riſing fortunes of Mirza Shuffee Khan. High ſpirited and active, that nobleman had gained the attachment of the ſoldiery in a very uncommon degree; and by acts of liberality and munificence, he was careful to confirm them in their ſentiments.

Meanwhile, as the perſon moſt fit for the appointment, Mirza Shuffai was nominated to the command of the frontier ſtation; and accordingly having received his diſmiſſion from the preſence, attended by a conſiderable force, he repaired to the city of Panniput.

About this time ambaſſadors from Lahoor arrived at court.—They brought letters of ſubmiſſion from the principal chiefs, which were accompanied by a large paiſhcuſh in money, and a promiſe of the payment in future of a regular tribute. The city of Carnal was likewiſe reſtored to the king; and the ambaſſadors moreover made a pecuniary compenſation for the loſſes ſuſtained in the late invaſion.

Shah-Aulum now celebrated the nuptials of his ſecond ſon, Prince Akbar Shah, with a princeſs of the royal family. The ceremony was performed with much ſplendour at the houſe of the miniſter, who took this opportunity of gratifying his maſter by beſtowing liberal preſents on the new-married pair.

Toward the latter end of the current year, died the Prince Furkhinda Bukht. His remains were interred in the mauſoleum of Humaioon, the general repoſitory of the aſhes of the houſe of Timoor *.

The death of the prince was followed ſhortly after by that of the miniſter. He had been much afflicted for ſeveral preceding years with a ſevere rheumatic complaint. This was increaſed by a complication of other diſorders occaſioned by an irregular mode of life, which at length inflamed his humours to ſuch a degree of acrimony as rendered life a burthen to him. In this deplorable ſtate, he languiſhed for ſeveral months, till in the month of April 1782, he expired in the palace of Sefdar Jung, ſincerely regretted by his ſovereign, who viſited him during his illneſs, and lamented by the inhabitants of Delhi, who loved and revered him. He was buried in the ſepulchre of Ali Mirdaun Khan.

Mirza Nujuff Khan Zulficar Al Dowla was a native of Perſia: by the mother's ſide, he claimed his deſcent from the royal houſe of Sefi, who, at the commencement of the preſent century, ſat on

* Vide Appendix 1.

the throne of Perſia. When Nadir Shah uſurped that government, he put under confinement all the relative branches of the royal family who remained. Among thoſe were the mother of Nujuff Khan: ſhe had two children, himſelf and a ſiſter, named Khadeeja Sultaun.

In 1746, Mirza Mohuſſun, brother of Sefdar Jung, Soobadar of Oude, was ſent on an embaſſy to the Perſian court. By his interceſſion, the family obtained their liberty; when the mother, preferring to remain in her native country, Mirza Mohuſſun carried back into Hindoſtaun Mirza Nujuff Khan and his ſiſter, at that time about thirteen years old. This princeſs was ſhortly after married to her deliverer, and had by him one ſon, who, in proceſs of time, became governor of Allahabad. In that ſtation Mahmud Cooli Khan, the perſon above mentioned, was, by order of Shuja Al Dowla, moſt baſely aſſaſſinated *.

Mirza Nujuff Khan, at the time of his nephew's deceaſe, was likewiſe in the vizir's ſervice.—But Shuja having taken an averſion to him, which moſt probably aroſe from an unworthy jealouſy of his ſuperior accompliſhments, treated him in ſeveral inſtances with marked diſreſpect. The high ſpirit of Nujuff Khan could not brook theſe indignities, and accordingly quitted for ever the dominions of Oude.

In the year 1762, he repaired to Patna, where Coſſim Ali Khan,

* At the fort of Jelaulabad, about five miles diſtant from the city of Lucknow.

Nabob of Bengal, at that time held his court. That prince taking Nujuff Khan into his ſervice, he was promoted to the command of a body of Mogul horſe. He was employed during the war that ſoon after broke out between the Sooba and the Britiſh government, and was preſent at the attack of Oudah Nulla, and other places; and on all occaſions conducted himſelf with vigour, ſpirit, and gallantry.

On the defeat of Shuja Dowla at the memorable battle of Buxar, and the total ruin of the affairs of the unfortunate Coſſim, Mirza Nujuff Khan being unwilling to truſt to the vizir's clemency, ſought an aſylum in Boghilcund. Here he remained until the treaty of Allahabad in 1765, when he was ſent for by Shah-Aulum; and at his recommendation, Lord Clive gave him a penſion of two lacks of rupees, chargeable on the revenues of the Corah province *.

On his majeſty's retreat from Allahabad, Nujuff Khan accompanied the court; and from that period he roſe, as we have ſeen in the preceding pages, to the firſt offices and higheſt honours in the ſtate.

Mirza Nujuff Khan, by his powerful influence, high military character, and unrelaxed attention to buſineſs, was well fitted to conduct the affairs of the empire with a vigorous and ſteady hand. He reſtored order and tranquillity to the almoſt-ruined provinces;

* See the reports of the ſelect committee.

and by his wife adminiſtration, recruited in a conſiderable degree the exhauſted finances.

Though continually ſurrounded by numerous and warlike enemies, the abilities of the captain general were equal to the conteſt. By a ſteady and undeviating purſuit in his deſigns, he at length triumphed over all his enemies, and reaped the fruits of his well-earned labours by erecting for himſelf a noble principality. This, conſiſting of the province of Agrah, of which he was governor, the adjoining countries of Merut and Macheri, the whole of the Jaut territories, and greater part of the Doo Ab, altogether yielding a revenue of two millions ſterling. His eſtabliſhment was magnificent and extenſive; and he lived in a manner worthy a prince.

To great ſkill in military affairs, Nujuff Khan added the happy talent of being able to conciliate the attachment of his troops in an uncommon degree. The ſoldiers admired his patience under adverſity, his affability, generoſity, and manlineſs of ſpirit; and though, from a variety of circumſtances, and the fluctuating changes incident to an Aſiatic army, they were not unfrequently thrown into diſcontent, and ſome times even to mutiny, Nujuff Khan, on theſe critical occaſions, never failed, by his addreſs and dexterity, to pacify the moſt unruly without a diminution of his own authority.—A rare and fortunate example.

That no other perſon was equally capable to combine and keep together ſuch a variety of diſcordant intereſts as the policy of an

Eaſtern government ever exhibits, was effectually evinced in the examples of his ſucceſſors.

Upon the whole, we may, with juſtice, aſcribe to Nujuff Khan the character of an able ſtateſman, a ſkilful commander, and a humane and benevolent man. Polite and affable in his manners to all perſons, which is indeed proverbial to his countrymen, he was generous to his dependants, and ſtrictly juſt. His death was deſervedly regretted by Shah-Aulum, who certainly owed to Mirza Nujuff Khan a ſituation more reſpectable than he had before, or was hereafter, deſtined to experience *.

* The foregoing account of the family of Nujuff Khan is extracted from a Perſian MS. in the author's poſſeſſion; it is entitled *Khazanah Omrah*, or Biography of the Mogul Nobility, a work frequently mentioned by Oriental hiſtorians.

CHAP. VII.

Tranſactions at Court ſubſequent to the Death of ZULFICAR AL DOWLA—AFRASIAB KHAN *appointed Miniſter—Diſſentions among the* MOGUL *Lords—Elevation of* MIRZA SHUFFEE KHAN *—Intrigues—He is aſſaſſinated before* DEIG—*Re-appointment of* AFRASIAB KHAN—*Reflections.*

UNTIL Nujuff Khan's death, affairs at court, though at times interrupted by temporary diſſentions and diſagreements betwixt the Mogul nobles, had by the active vigilance of the captain-general been amicably ſettled. But their turbulent ſpirit, however, reſtrained during his life time, now broke forth with a fury which was totally ungovernable. Hence in the ſequel of this hiſtory we ſhall be reduced to the painful neceſſity of recording ſcenes of violence, anarchy, and bloodſhed. Shah-Aulum advancing in years, and diſtitute of that energy and vigour of mind ſo neceſſary to ſtem the torrent, was compelled as occaſions demanded to yield to its force, and the unhappy king, in the evening of life, had the mortification to perceive his authority totally annihilated, and himſelf become a wretched pageant in the hands of his rebellious ſubjects.

Among the principal competitors for power was Afraſiab Khan. This young ſoldier, bred in the camp, and under the eye of the late captain-general, had by his military talents acquired the affections of the army. He was nominated to the poſt of Ameer Al

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Omrah. His firſt attention was judiciouſly directed to ſecure the attachment of the different Mogul chiefs. Among theſe Mirza Shuffee Khan was one of the moſt powerful; his late ſucceſs againſt the Seiks, and his ſituation in command of the frontiers, induced the miniſter to treat him with extraordinary attention. Afraſiab Khan, therefore, ſent letters to that nobleman, expreſſive of the utmoſt cordiality, and recommended his vigilant attention to his charge on the frontiers. Similar letters were ſent to the Nawaub Zabita Khan, ruler of Sehaurunpore. The new miniſter being popular in the army, and a man of acknowledged reſolution, it was thought he would have ſecured a continuation of his authority; but an oppoſition which aroſe totally unexpected by him from an oppoſite quarter, not only for the preſent deprived him of his authority, but even brought him to the very brink of ruin.

To trace the cauſe of this oppoſition, we muſt recur to the ſituation of the family of the deceaſed miniſter. Nujuff Khan's ſiſter, the Princeſs Khadejee Sultaun, was at this time at Delhi, poſſeſſed of great wealth; and being a woman of a maſculine and intriguing ſpirit, ſhe boldly entered into the politics of the times, and reſolved to form a party of her own. She had conceived a great averſion to Afraſiab Khan, who had treated her with diſreſpect, and knowing the ambition of Mirza Shuffee, ſelected that nobleman as a counterpoiſe againſt the miniſter's influence. Khadejee Sultaun, therefore, in concert with Zeein Al Abuden Khan, his brother, and other lords, whom ſhe had gained over to her views, invited Mirza Shuffee to march to Delhi, and take upon himſelf the adminiſtration of affairs. They aſſured him at the ſame time, that the king

ſecretly approved the plan, and concluded by recommending his ſpeedy appearance.

The deſign of this confederacy, however cautiouſly conducted, could not long be kept ſecret from Afraſiab Khan. Information of the intended conſpiracy being conveyed to him, he reſolutely determined on a counter plan, and by a coalition of intereſts with ſome diſaffected lords, to defeat the deſigns of his enemies. Among theſe were the depoſed miniſter, the Nawaub Mujud Al Dowla; that nobleman had ſince his diſgrace been kept in cloſe confinement. Afraſiab Khan finding him well inclined to the connection, applied to Shah-Aulum for his releaſe. He obſerved to his majeſty, that Mujud Al Dowla, having experienced a ſevere puniſhment for his faults, in a tedious impriſonment, and the confiſcation of his fortune; there was now room for clemency towards him. Shah-Aulum acquieſcing in the requeſt, Mujud Al Dowla was liberated from his arreſt, and again placed at the head of the Khaliſa*, at the ſame time Nujuff Cooli Khan, ſon-in-law of the late miniſter, was promoted to the office of Dewaun. The contending parties were, in force, nearly equal, but as Afraſiab poſſeſſed the poſt of advantage, in having the citadel under his immediate command, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſucceſs.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when Mirza Shuffee Khan, with his army arrived in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The king, it is ſaid, being favourable to his pretenſions, diſpatched a confidential ſervant ſecretly to his camp, who recommended for the preſent his remaining inactive. This tranſaction did not eſcape the

* The treaſury.

notice of Afraſiab Khan, and on receiving information of it from his emiſſaries, he determined by a vigorous meaſure, at once to bring the matter to iſſue. Repairing to the palace, he, in peremptory terms demanded the diſmiſſion of Mirza Shuffee, and told the king that perceiving his enemies had formed a plan to ſubvert his authority, it was incumbent on him by every means in his power, to prevent ſuch an act of injuſtice. That with reſpect to the appearance of Mirza Shuffee at the capital, he muſt be called on to aſſign his motives for quitting his ſtation on the frontiers without leace obtained, and in manifeſt violation of his oath of allegiance. Afraſiab Khan concluded with remarking the improper conduct of the Princeſs Khadejee Sultaun, whom he knew acted in concert with his enemies, and urged the neceſſity of laying ſome reſtraint upon her ambitious and intriguing ſpirit. He charged, her with a deſign to degrade his majeſty's authority; and finally concluded his remonſtrance, with a requiſition for that princeſs immediately to deliver up the fortreſs of Agrah, with the cannon and warlike ſtores contained therein. Shah-Aulum under the reſtraint of his miniſter acquieſced in his demands, and accordingly Mirza Shuffee was called upon by letter to ſtate his reaſons for having quitted his ſtation. This vigorous meaſure, though it alarmed Mirza Shuffee, did not incline him to relinquiſh his purſuits. Inſtead of anſwering to the charge, he advanced his camp oppoſite the Ajimere gate of the city, which he cloſely blockaded.

The aſpect of affairs was gloomy. The rival chiefs were each determined to reſt the iſſue of their reſpective claims to the ſword, and a ſcene of tumult and horror was apprehended by the peaceful

inhabitants. At this criſis of affairs an unexpected circumſtance aroſe, which defeated the deſigns of the prime miniſter, and gave the palm of ſucceſs to his opponent. During the diſputes above related, Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani, who was governor of Agrah on the part of Nujuff Khan, availing himſelf of the confuſion of the times, reſolved to participate in the ſpoils. He left the fort of Agrah, and began to plunder and lay waſte the country, but his vengeance was principally directed againſt the Jagheer of Afraſiab Khan, of whoſe authority he was jealous. Afraſiab Khan deeming the preſervation of his eſtate preferable to maintaining his authority at court, determined to retire. But previous to taking that ſtep he delivered over the citadel to his aſſociate Mujud Al Dowla, and at his departure told the king he would ſoon return, and take vengeance of his enemies. He then with a ſelect body of horſe took the road to Agrah.

Scarcely had Afraſiab Khan left the city, when Mirza Shuffee Khan marched in with his whole force. His ſucceſs was rapid, having ſecured the gates and principal avenues to the palace, he detached a party to ſurround the houſes of Mujud Al Dowla, Lutafut Khan, Nujuff Cooli Khan, and other chiefs, attached to his rival. After a ſhort, but deſperate reſiſtance, in which ſeveral were ſlain, thoſe noblemen were compelled to ſubmit; and Mirza Shuffee, elevated with his ſucceſs, repaired in triumph to the palace. He was immediately inveſted with the dignity of Ameer Al Omrah, and the ſupreme adminiſtration of affairs. Tranquillity being reſtored in the city, Mirza Shuffee paid a viſit to the Princeſs Khadeja Sultaun. After mutual congratulations the princeſs preſented him with a large ſum of money, of which he was much in

want, and to confirm his authority by every means in her power, ſhe beſtowed on him in marriage the only remaining daughter of her deceaſed brother. The nuptials were celebrated with much ſplendour at her own charge.

Arrived at the height of his ambition, it might naturally be conjectured that Mirza Shuffee would omit no precautions to confirm his authority upon a ſolid baſis. But in his ſubſequent conduct he was highly reprehenſible. That conduct which had acquired him the affection of the troops and the ſupport of the officers, now appeared to have forſaken him. His demeanour on a ſudden became haughty and imperious, which excited murmuring and diſcontent in the breaſts of his aſſociates, and their effect were for him but too ſoon apparent. In the mean time we muſt direct our attention to the depoſed miniſter. Afraſiab Khan hearing of the late revolution, wiſely reſolved to make Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani his friend. He being equally well diſpoſed to a compromiſe, a treaty was accordingly drawn up, in which it was agreed to join their forces and march forthwith to Delhi, to reinſtate Afraſiab Khan in his authority, and afterwards ſharing in a mutual adminiſtration.

In the mean time their views were advanced, though unintentionally towards them, by the diſcloſure of a plan which had been concerted under the auſpices of the Prince Juwaun Bukht, which produced a new revolution in affairs. That prince, who had long been indignant at the degraded ſituation of the royal authority, thought the abſence of Afraſiab Khan a favourable opportunity for proſecuting a plan for the king's relief, and of taking a ſhare of the government to himſelf. He had for this purpoſe privately gained

over to his views Lutafut Ali Khan, Mahomed Yacoob, and ſome other lords. To the weight of their influence, was added that of Mr. Pauly, a French officer, who commanded the diſciplined battalions of the late Somroo.

The plan of operations having been thoroughly digeſted, Mirza Juwaun Bukht, accompanied by his aſſociates, diſcloſed it to Shah-Aulum. They ſtrenuouſly urged his majeſty to diſmiſs Mirza Shuffee Khan from his employments, and to re-aſſume his authority, and puniſh the rebels. They concluded by recommending the immediate arreſt of the miniſter, whom Mr. Pauly undertook to ſecure. Shah-Aulum ſignifying his acquieſcence, the conſpirators prepared to carry their plan into execution. It was however rendered needleſs by the voluntary departure of Mirza Shuffee Khan. He was that very morning exerciſing his troops on the ſands of the Jumna, when he received an account of the plan for his deſtruction. He ſaw his danger, and finding his troops inſufficient to face the combination, prudently reſolved to retire. The Nawaub Mujud Al Dowla and about 1000 horſe, accompanied him in his flight. They took the road to Agrah. On Mirza Shuffee's departure, the king mounting an elephant proceeded directly to the *Jumma Musjed**, where he received the compliments of the nobility, and diſtributed a large ſum of money to the troops. His majeſty then inveſted the Prince Juwaun Bukt with the office of Ameer Al Omrah, and returned to the palace. But this triumph of the court was of very ſhort duration, and the principal actors in the late tranſaction were

* The principal moſque in the city of Delhi. See Appendix 1.

ſoon deſtined to experience a ſad reverſe of fortune. Indeed every attempt of this ill-fated monarch to emancipate himſelf from the reſtraints impoſed by his rebellious ſervants, ſeems only in the concluſion to have rendered his ſituation more wretched.

Mirza Shuffee and his aſſociate on quitting Delhi, determined to ſeek an aſylum in the camp of his inveterate foes. But it muſt be recollected that circumſtances were now materially altered. He, like them, was a fugutive, and a ſenſe of their common danger had moreover naturally reconciled the exiled chiefs to a combination of their mutual intereſt. Mahomed Beg, Mirza Shuffee, and Afraſiab Khan, having met in the neighbourhood of Muttra, after a mutual interchange of compliments, drew up a ſolemn treaty to the following effect: 1. An equal diviſion was to be made of the lands, poſſeſſed by the late Nawaub Zulficar Al Dowla. 2. Mirza Shuffee Khan to be re-inſtated in the poſt of prime miniſter, and to remain at Delhi. 3. In conſideration of Afraſiab Khan yielding up his claim to the chief direction of affairs, he was to be left in joint authority with Mahomed Beg Khan, to rule in the Doo Ab and ſouth weſt of the Jumna. The treaty was concluded by an unanimous aſſurance of inflicting on their enemies the moſt exemplary puniſhments. The united forces of theſe powerful chiefs then commenced their march towards the capital. On the road they were joined by Pertaub Row of Maeheri. On reaching Fereedabad, a town about twelve miles ſouth of Delhi, the confederates encamped, and from hence reſolved to dictate to the emperor their own terms. Agreeably to this reſolution, Mujud Al Dowla was diſpatched to court. He was commiſſioned in the name of the confederates to declare

to Shah-Aulum, their reſolution to maintain their allegiance to his majeſty, but at the ſame time to ſtate the neceſſity of reſtoring to Mirza Shuffee Khan, that authority of which by the machinations of his enemies he had been ſo unjuſtly deprived.

The arrival of this ambaſſador created the moſt alarming apprehenſions in the king's mind. A council was aſſembled on the occaſion, when Prince Juwaun Bukt ſpiritedly propoſed to oppoſe the rebels by force. He obſerved to his majeſty with much judgment, that ſhould the rebels obtain their inſolent demands, there was no reaſonable ground in future to hope that any reſpect would be paid to his majeſty, but that the traitors, as the natural effect of an eaſy compliance, would not reſt ſatisfied without the complete degradation of the royal authority. The prince was ſupported in his opinion by the whole council, and Mr. Pauly affirmed that his own force was of itſelf ſufficient to overthrow and diſperſe the rebels. But the king with a puſillanimity totally unworthy of him, which aroſe from a fear of ſuſtaining inſults ſhould the rebels be ſucceſsful, rejected the ſalutary advice of his ſon, and commanded him in concert with Mr. Pauly to enter into an amicable agreement with the confederates. Many perſons at Delhi ſcrupled not to affirm, that the king on this occaſion, was ſwayed by the intrigues carrying on in the haram. That the Princeſs Khadejee Sultaun, the aunt of Mirza Shuffee, had perſuaded his majeſty to pacific meaſures. It is moſt probable that to the latter cauſe may be attributed his irreſolution. Pauly and Lutafut therefore, were charged with the negociation, and to give appearance of greater cordiality on the part of his majeſty, the Prince Juwaun Bukht was directed to accompany the

commiſſioners to the rebel camp. Mean while a plan of which Afraſiab Khan is ſaid to have been the contriver, was agitated in the councils of the confederates. They agreed to the propoſitions for peace, but, inſtigated by a revengeful ſpirit, deſcended to the perpetration of an atrocious act.

A general reconciliation of parties being agreed to, and properly ratified by the reſpective ſignatures, Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, accompanied by Pauly and Lutafut, left the city and proceeded to the confederate armies. But ſcarcely had the devoted victims entered the camp, when a party of horſe, who had been placed in ambuſcade, ſuddenly iſſuing from their concealment, attacked and diſperſed the followers of the commiſſioners, ſeized and overpowered thoſe unfortunate men, and by a bloody proceſs ſtruck off the head of Mr. Pauly, and deprived Lutafut of ſight. The army of the rebels then attacked the battalions of the commiſſioners, whom as they were totally unprepared for the treachery, were eaſily overpowered. To the prince they promiſed implicit obedience, and ſhortly after in his company entered the city in triumph.

Shah-Aulum, thus reduced, was conſtrained to receive the rebels with apparent ſatisfaction and marks of reſpect. Mirza Shuffee was reinſtated in his authority, and the other chiefs were honoured with titles and dignities.

From the aſcendancy thus acquired by Mirza Shuffee, had he purſued an upright conduct, there was every proſpect of his authority being permanent. But it ſoon appeared that the late reconciliation of

the contending chiefs was temporary and inſincere. The prime miniſter, in order to reſtore tranquillity to the province of Agrah, which had ſuffered much by the tumults before mentioned, reſolved to repair thither in perſon: he took with him the prince Solimaun Shekoo. We may recollect the ſtipulations made in the treaty of Agrah the preceding year. Mahomed Beg Khan Hamduni, who deemed himſelf the principal inſtrument in the reſtoration of the miniſter's authority, now called on him for the performance of his agreement. He demanded his ſhare of the lands of the late Zulficar Al Dowla. Mirza Shuffee, whether he thought his authority too firmly eſtabliſhed to be again ſhaken, or jealous of divided ſway, refuſed compliance with the terms of the treaty.

Mahomed Beg Khan, juſtly incenſed at this breach of faith, gave vent to the natural ferocity of his diſpoſition, and reſolved to take a ſevere revenge. It is probable, however, that the miniſter might have warded off the blow, had he not by an act of equal folly and injuſtice, hurried the whole body of the Mogul nobility into acts of open hoſtility. It will be neceſſary here to develope the cauſes of ſudden revolution which led to the extinction, not only of his authority, but his life. To an unbounded ambition, Mirza Shuffee unfortunately added an inextinguiſhable avarice: actuated by that unworthy paſſion, he in a fatal moment determined to reſume thoſe lands which had been granted by the late Nujuff Khan as *Jaiedad* for the maintenance of the troops of the different Mogul lords. In lieu of theſe, he determined it ſhould henceforth be diſburſed by monthly payments from the royal treaſury. His commands, when notified to the different chiefs, excited univerſal murmurings and diſ-

content. But Mirza Shuffee enforced obedience to his orders.—Fatal were the conſequences which followed this raſh and impolitic meaſure. The commanders, irritated at the unworthy treatment, with juſtice deemed their ſervices merited a return far different; and under the impulſe of paſſion, hurried themſelves into the commiſſion of a crime of the blackeſt dye. Afraſiab Khan, Mahomed Beg Khan, and other lords, entered into a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate the miniſter; and bound themſelves, after the perpetration of the deed, to place Afraſiab Khan in the authority of the deceaſed, and to reſtore the Jaiedads. The more effectually to conceal their intentions, it was agreed to invite Mirza Shuffee, who was by this time advanced towards Agrah, to an amicable conference, to reconcile and ſettle their mutual diſputes.

On the 23d of September of the current year, the two armies met, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Deig. Though the conſpiracy we have before related, had been planned with the utmoſt ſecrecy and caution, it, by ſome means or other, reached the ears of Mirza Shuffee's friends: and previous to the intended interview, the prime miniſter was warned of the treacherous deſigns of his enemies. But Mirza Shuffee rejected the information as a concerted falſehood; and totally regardleſs of perſonal ſafety, accompanied by a few followers, he proceeded on his viſit. The army of Mahomed Beg Khan was drawn out as if ready to receive and compliment the miniſter. Each of the chiefs was mounted on his elephant; as the animal on which Mirza Shuffee rode approached the other, Mahomed Beg Khan, conformable to eſtabliſhed uſage, roſe up, ſaluted, and embraced his rival; but in the performance of

that act, having ſeized hold of the miniſter's right hand, which was the ſignal agreed on, Mirza Iſmaeel Beg, his nephew, who ſat in the Khawaſs *, plunged a dagger into the body of the devoted victim. He groaned, fell back, and expired. A deſperate action enſued between the armies; but at length Afraſiab Khan, exerting his influence, perſuaded the troops of the late miniſter to join the confederates. The body of Mirza Shuffee was taken up by his followers, and interred in the fort of Deig.

Of this event Afraſiab Khan having ſent notification to Delhi, an anſwer was received, expreſſive of the king's approbation of the deed. At the ſame time a firmaun arrived, which conſtituted Afraſiab Khan, Ameer Al Omrah, and moreover gave permiſſion to appropriate to his own uſe the effects of the late miniſter. Finally, Afraſiab Khan and prince Solymaun Shekoo were ordered to repair to the capital with all poſſible expedition.

The indifference with which this important truſt was conferred upon Afraſiab, creates a ſuſpicion that the fate which had befallen Mirza Shuffee was not diſagreeable to his majeſty. A generous mind, on this ſurmiſe, deplores the humiliating ſituation of a deſcendant of Timoor, ſanctioning acts diſgraceful to humanity, and ſubverſive of the principles of moral and ſocial order.

When Mirza Shuffee was aſſaſſinated, his brother, Zein Al Abu-

* The Khawaſs is the back ſeat on an elephant, in which a perſon is uſually placed with a *Chowri*, or fan. At court, and amongſt the nobility, it is deemed the higheſt honour to be placed there.

deen Khan, was governor of Meerut. The king, tenacious of the power which he derived from that ſituation, determined upon his removal. A mandate was accordingly iſſued for that nobleman's appearance at court. He was received with reſpect. Shah-Aulum, after condoling with him on the death of his brother, intimated to him the neceſſity there was to reſign his government. Zein Al Abudeen, who was a man of impatient temper, in ſecret burnt with indignation at this unworthy treatment; at the time, however, he ſaid nothing; but on retiring from the hall of audience, he repaired to his own palace, whence he privately departed. Senſible that this conduct would enrage the king, he haſtened to Meerut; and determined to reſiſt the royal authority, he there collected around him his friends and dependants.

Intelligence of this defection reaching Afraſiab Khan, he aſſembled the army, led it to Meerut, and inveſted the town. He had determined to have puniſhed the rebel in the moſt exemplary manner; but this determination was overruled by the advice of his confidential officers. They repreſented that his power in the ſtate was as yet infirm, and it therefore became him firſt to make overtures for negotiation, to which, in all probability, Zein Al Abudeen would aſſent. Nor were they deceived in their conjectures. Intimation being given, a treaty was ſet on foot; and Zein Al Abudeen conſenting to ſubmit to his majeſty's clemency, was pardoned. He was received at court with honour, and a ſtipend out of the royal treaſury was allotted for his ſupport.

The prime miniſter returning to Delhi, was received with great

diſtinction. He anſwered Shah-Aulum with proteſtations of perpetual attachment; and as proof, preſented his majeſty with an offering of three lacks of rupees, and ſome valuable Perſian horſes.

Cuttub Al Dowla was now ſent to command in Meerut; and Nujuff Cooli Khan, ſon-in-law to the late miniſter, who had till now reſided at Meerut, was directed to remain at court.

In the beginning of 1784, Major Brown, who had been commiſſioned on a deputation to the king by the ſupreme council of Calcutta, arrived at the capital. The Major was received with high reſpect; and in behalf of the Britiſh government, preſented Shah-Aulum a handſome paiſhcuſh.

The arrival of this deputation excited various emotions in the minds of the Delhians; ſome were of opinion that the period was at hand when Shah-Aulum would return to the protection of his oldeſt and, in truth, his beſt friends, the Engliſh: others again conjectured that the intent of the embaſſy was, to arrange with the miniſter the concerns of the royal family. Theſe, during the late commotions, had ariſen to a height which was truly diſtreſsful. But the real cauſe of Major Brown's arrival * was in conſequence of orders he had received from his government, not to decline any overture that might be made for affording a military aid to the royal cauſe. The Seiks had for ſeveral years back, by their predatory incurſions into Doo Ab and Rohilcund, excited alarm in the go-

* See the proceedings of parliament on the trial of Mr. Haſtings.

vernment of Aſuf Al Dowla: and Mr. Haſtings, the Britiſh governor, with his uſual diſcernment, deemed the exertions of the court of Delhi might, at the preſent juncture of affairs, prove a benefical counterpoiſe to the riſing power of the Seiks.

Many days had not elapſed ſince the arrival of Major Brown, when an event occurred which created much confuſion in the palace, and led, in its future conſequences, to concerns of momentous import. The heir apparent, prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, diſguſted at the daily inſults he received from the miniſter, reſolved to throw himſelf on the protection of the vizir and the Engliſh: he hoped thereby to procure eaſe to himſelf, and an alleviation to the diſtreſſes of his family. Eſcaping from the palace at midnight, he croſſed the Jumna, and repaired to Lucknow. But as the fortunes of Mirza Juwaun Bukht will hereafter be detailed in their proper order, it is here only neceſſary to point out the immediate effects of his flight from the capital.

Afrafiab Khan, conſcious of the ill treatment the unhappy prince had, through his means, endured, was fearful of the vizir's* reſentment. He thought, therefore, that the moſt effectual means of obviating this would be, to perſuade the heir apparent to return to Delhi. Accordingly, he, in the king's name, ſent letters to the vizir and Mr. Haſtings, who was then at Lucknow, demanding, in terms moſt peremptory, the immediate return of the fugitive prince. Although Shah-Aulum, by affixing his ſeal to the diſpatches, ap-

* Aſuf Al Dowla.

parently ſanctioned the demands of his miniſter, it is certain, that in his own mind he was not averſe to the eſcape of his ſon. If, indeed, his unhappy ſituation be thoroughly conſidered, it is not to be wondered at he ſhould endeavour by any means in his power to obtain relief.

Some days after the departure of the letters before mentioned, Major Brown, the Britiſh Ambaſſador, was requeſted to proceed to Lucknow. He accordingly repaired thither. Afraſiab Khan deeming his authority fully eſtabliſhed, now threw off the maſk, and exhibited himſelf in his natural colours. He firſt propoſed to the king to march to Agrah, the object of which he affirmed was the reſtoration of that province to order. Had he reſted here, it would have redounded to the honour of Afraſiab; but impelled by a jealouſy againſt Mahomed Beg Khan totally unwarrantable, he, at the cloſe of the conference, in vehement language urged the king to revenge the aſſaſſination of the late miniſter in the puniſhment of Mahomed Beg. His majeſty perceiving the invidious drift, turned from the miniſter with coldneſs, and retired into his haram.

The ſource of this extraordinary demand may, without difficulty, be traced in the rivalſhip of the two chiefs. Mahomed Beg Khan, though certainly guilty of an atrocious act, deſerved not puniſhment from the hands of Afraſiab. It has before been ſeen, that the miniſter himſelf, in conjunction with the Mogul Sirdars, had urged and ſtimulated him to the deed; and for this he was now to become a ſacrifice at the ſhrine of his imperious coadjutor.

Aſtoniſhed at the king's abrupt departure, Afraſiab Khan, in ſullen ſilence, retired to his own palace. Giving looſe to his reſentment, he there determined on a meaſure equally violent and unjuſt. At the conference above mentioned, the Nuwaub Mujud Al Dowla had been preſent. That nobleman having endeavoured to diſſuade the king from his intended expedition to Agrah, the officious remark paſſed not unnoticed by the haughty ſpirit of Afraſiab. He now directed Nujuff Cooli Khan, his dependant, to lead a party of guards to the palace of Mujud Al Dowla, and ſeize his perſon. His orders were obeyed with alacrity, and the unfortunate man again found himſelf in the courſe of a few ſhort hours reduced from affluence and command to penury and a priſon. His property was ſeized, and converted to the miniſter's uſe. Mujud Al Dowla was afterwards confined in the fort of Agrah, where he died in 1788; not much regretted, except by Shah-Aulum, whoſe confidence he had ſo frequently abuſed by the commiſſion of oppreſſive acts upon his ſubjects. He was an intriguing artful courtier, avaricious, and inſolent. Shah-Aulum, when informed of this outrage, was filled with the deepeſt indignation. He reſolved therefore, at all events, to throw himſelf into the hands of the Marhattas; and by a foreign aid, to relieve himſelf from the inſupportable inſults daily offered him by his own ſubjects.

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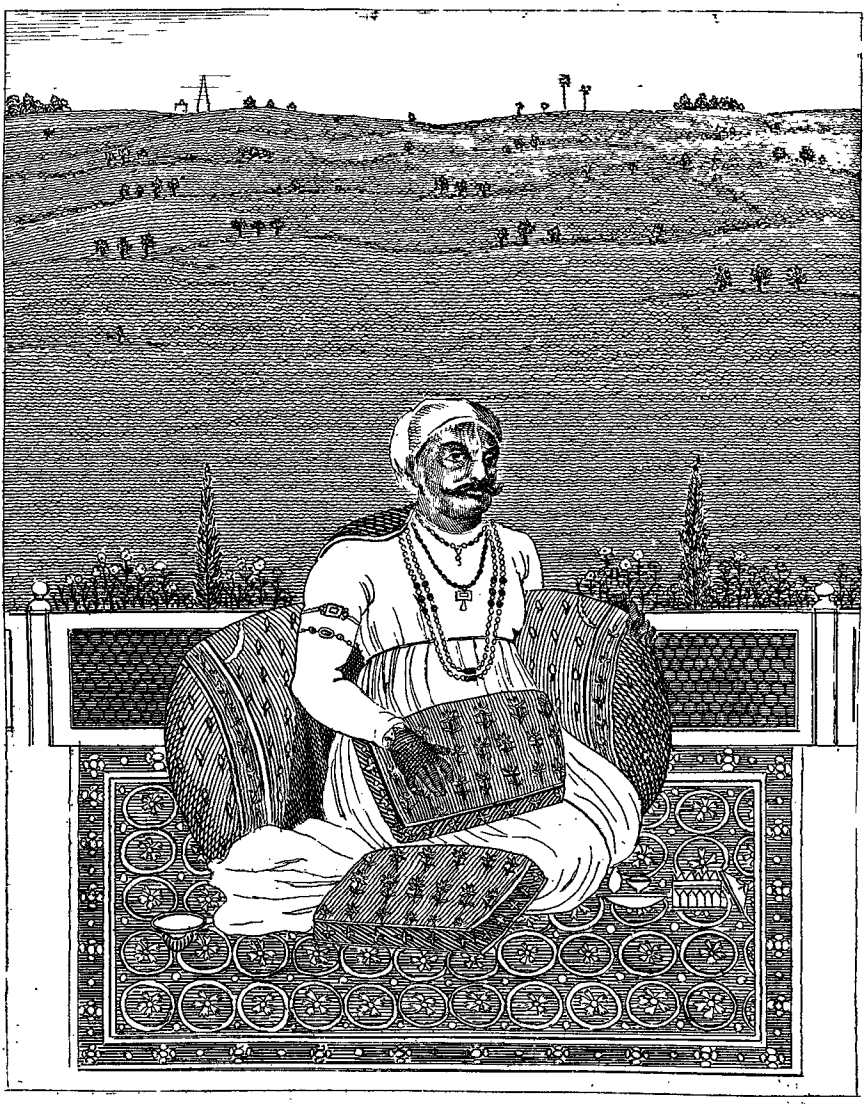

Madhajee Sindiah.

From an Original in the Possession of Thos. Daniell Esq.r

CHAP. VIII.

Riſe and Progreſs of MADHAJEE SINDIAH, *Ruler of* MALWAH, *from the Eſtabliſhment of his Family in that Province until his Interference in the Politics of the Court of* DELHI—*Intrigues of* AFRASIAB KHAN—*His Death and Character*—SINDIAH *is made Prime Miniſter.*

FROM the preceding ſcenes of party violence, the reader will with pleaſure follow hiſtory through the more edifying detail of geographical information. We ſhall proceed, therefore, to take a retroſpective view of the Malwah province, in its fluctuating ſtate under a ſucceſſion of rulers. But the conſiderable influence acquired by Madhajee Sindiah in the politics of Hindoſtaun, previouſly demands attention to the riſe and progreſſive fortune of this extraordinary man.

Madhajee Sindiah Putteel Bahadur was deſcended from a Rajpoot family. His father, Ranojee Sindiah, was an officer in the ſervice of Bajerow, who, in the latter end of the reign of Rajah Sahoo, was Paiſhwah of the Marhatta ſtate. The ſupineneſs and effeminacy of the court of Delhi, and the diſtracted ſtate of the empire toward the cloſe of the reign of Mahmud Shah, rendered eaſy the ſubjugation of the Malwah province. On that expedition Ranojee Sindiah accompanied the Paiſhwah. The ſervices and ability diſ-

played by Ranojee during the campaign, were rewarded with the management of the province, which was confirmed in jagheer to his deſcendants by Rajah Sahoo. Ranojee had four ſons: Appagee, Tagee, Tookagee, and Sindiah. Appagee was ſlain in a civil broil in the Jynaghur province; Tookagee and Tagee periſhed in the memorable battle of Panniput in 1762.

Sindiah, in that action, though only ſeventeen years of age, diſplayed a genius and ſpirit which well foretold his future greatneſs: being deſperately wounded, and unable to follow the route of the few ſurvivors of the Marhatta army, he was ſecretly taken care of in the camp of the Abdallee. Recovered from his wounds, he was privately removed from this aſylum, and by his protectors conveyed into Deccan. He then aſſumed the government of his patrimonial eſtate of Ougein. From his intenſe application to buſineſs, aided by the endowments of a vigorous mind, he ſoon acquired conſiderable influence in the Marhatta ſtate; and was early conſidered as one of the principal Jagheer Dars. In 1770, he accompanied Holkar and Beeſajee into Hindoſtaun, where his actions have been recorded in the preceding pages.

Malwah*, the greater part of which is the inheritance of the Sindiah family, is in length two hundred and forty-five coſs, in breadth two hundred and thirty. On the north it is bounded by the Agimere Soobah; on the ſouth by Baglanah; on the eaſt by part of Agra

* For the following detail of the Malwah province, the author is happy to confeſs his obligations to Major Charles Reynolds, ſurveyor general on the Bombay eſtabliſhment, who furniſhed him with the materials collected by himſelf on the ſpot.

and Allahabad; and on the weſt by Guzerat. The principal rivers that flow through this fertile and extenſive tract, are the Chumbul, the Sind, and the Nerbuddah: but it is watered by many other ſmaller ſtreams. Though higher than the reſt of Hindoſtaun, the land of Malwah is in general fertile; in it are reared numerous herds of cattle; and it abounds in opium, indigo, and tobacco.—In former times the revenues were computed at four millions ſterling; this, of late years, however, has been much reduced; and even Sindiah, in his collections, can realize only a million.

The Patan princes of the race of Khuljee having conquered that province from the Hindoos, fixed their ſeat of government at Mando*. It was during the long and glorious reign of the renowned Akbar, that Malwah was gradually alienated from the Patans.—Having annexed it to his empire, it remained in his family until the cloſe of the reign of Mahmud Shah.

The Zemindars and ſoldiers of fortune here, as in other parts of the empire, during this turbulent period, divided amongſt them the different provinces. Out of theſe aroſe ſeveral independant ſtates; thoſe ſtates encroaching upon the imperial authority, by degrees threw off all but a nominal allegiance to the houſe of Timoor.—Hence, the authority of the Soobah became frequently circumſcribed to the environs of that city, which he choſe for his reſidence. The Rajah of Chundeely, deſcended from the ancient princes of the country, ſeized on the north-eaſt parts; the ſouthern were occupied

* A large city, fifty miles diſtant from Ougein.

by the Keeches. To the weſtward the petty Zemindars of Annuntwarah and Sooudunah aſſumed the ſtile of independant princes; and in the centre of the province was erected the nabobſhip of Bopaul.

Whilſt theſe rebels were bidding defiance to the royal authority, a new and more formidable enemy, the Marhattas, ſoon deſtroyed the hopes of thoſe petty ſovereigns, and made themſelves maſters of the whole province. At this period, Kullich Khan, the famous Nizam Al Mooluk, was governor of Deccan. He alſo, diſguſted at the levity which ſtigmatized the councils of the court of Delhi, reſolved to render himſelf independant. To avert, however, the vengeance of the royal arms, he ſecretly invited the Marhattas to an invaſion of the Malwah province. Delighting in predatory warfare, the propoſal was received with avidity. The immenſe Marhatta hoſt was commanded by Bajerow; Rajah Gheerdir directed the imperial forces. Deſperate was the battle which ſoon enſued; but victory declaring for the invaders, with incredible rapidity they overran both Malwah and the rich province of Guzerat; and their victorious arms were afterwards carried to the confines of Beianah and Agimere.

The petty ſovereigns who had aſſumed independancy, in conſequence, obliged to yield up the beſt part of their poſſeſſions, were reduced to the payment of an annual tribute: but the Nabob of Bopaul and a few other Rajahs were ſtill permitted to retain a part of their territories, and to exerciſe over them an authority ſubordinate to the controul of the Marhatta government.

Malwah was then divided into three ſhares: the firſt was allotted to Bajerow; the ſecond to the Marhatta prince, Rajah Sahoo; the third to the family of Mulhar Holkar. Sindiah, as we have ſeen, inherited that part of the province beſtowed on his father by Bajerow. But by a train of ſucceſsful operations, he was enabled to appropriate to himſelf a conſiderable portion of the Circar lands. Tookajee Holkar, who inherits the third diviſion of the Malwah province, ſince his acceſſion has reſided at Indore, a city thirty miles diſtant from Ougein.

Ougein, the modern capital of Malwah, is ſituated on the eaſtern bank of the Sipree river, in lat. 23. 12. N. and long. 75. 48. W. The city is, from its antiquity, of conſiderable note in the empire. The monuments which it exhibits of the piety and ſuperſtition of its Hindoo ſovereigns, are ſtill regarded with veneration; nor have the Patan emperors contributed leſs to its embelliſhment. Among a variety of grand and venerable ruins, travellers mention with applauſe an edifice erected by Naſſir Al Deen Khuljee in the ninth century of the Mahomedan æra. About one mile and a half eaſt of the city is a large gloomy building of an octangular form, and the whole of the materials of ſtone. Its foundation is an artificial iſland, which is formed by a deviation of the weſtern channel of the ſtream in the bed of the Sippree, and is connected with the oppoſite bank by a ſtone bridge of ſixteen arches. The building conſiſts of a variety of ſpacious chambers, conſtructed upon a level with the water: throughout theſe, by means of reſervoirs, the water is conveyed in different channels, and hence, by artificial caſcades, diſcharges itſelf into the Sippree in pleaſing murmurs. The apart-

ments in this delightful retreat are cool and ſalubrious. To each receſs are faſtened rings of iron for the purpoſe of attaching purdahs, or ſkreens made of the aromatic root called Khuſs. Theſe, when ſprinkled with water from without, not only give an agreeable coolneſs to the entering air, but entirely exclude the inclemency of the ſultry ſeaſon. We have before remarked that, among perſons of diſtinction, this luxury is common throughout Hindoſtaun. Into theſe watery abodes, when deſirous of repoſe, and fatigued with the toils of ſtate, the princes of the houſe of Khuljee were accuſtomed to retire. During the periodical rains, the lower parts of this building are entirely overflowed, and an amazing force of water acts againſt it: but ſo great were the pains beſtowed on its erection, and the materials of ſuch wonderful ſolidity, that after a lapſe of three centuries it remains entire, and ſtill continues to attract the admiration of the ſpectator.—We reſume, after this digreſſion, the thread of our narration.

Sindiah, on his return from Hindoſtaun in 1774, employed his utmoſt exertions to extend his influence, and enlarge his patrimonial territory. Bold and aſpiring in his views, he purſued the plans of his future aggrandiſement with ardor and unremitting perſeverance. He had greatly increaſed his revenues, and rendered his country highly flouriſhing, when ſix years afterwards was formed the grand Marhatta confederacy. Joining with that league, he became a principal actor in the ſcene, in which it was vainly hoped to have overthrown the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt. It was, however, happily diſſolved, and the ſcheme rendered abortive, by the prompitude and

vigor of the Britiſh councils, aided by the brilliant aſcendancy acquired by Britiſh arms under the auſpices of Coote and Goddard.

Sindiah, who during that memorable conteſt had exhibited the conduct of an active and able leader, on its concluſion, turned his arms againſt Gohud *. In 1782, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, he entered that province for a ſecond time, and with a fairer proſpect of ſucceſs than in his former expedition.

The reigning prince, Rajah Chutter Sing, fearful of the iſſue, endeavoured, by ſoliciting an alliance with the Britiſh government, to avert the impending ſtorm. Accordingly, by his ambaſſador at Calcutta, in recompence for an interference of the Engliſh in his behalf, he promiſed an annual Nuzeranah of four lacks of rupees. It does not however appear that ſuch an alliance was, at the preſent juncture, deemed acceptable to the Supreme Government of Bengal. Although Sindiah's extenſive views of conqueſt, and the notoriety of his ambition, were to the council objects of ſufficient magnitude to excite alarm, ſtill the fidelity which that prince had invariably obſerved in his tranſactions with the Britiſh nation, his uprightneſs, and, above all, his faithful and ſteady adherence to treaties, had impreſſed the minds of government with ſentiments highly favourable toward him.

The alliance with the Ranah was, therefore, rejected: but it was deemed eligible by the council to endeavour effecting an amicable

* A province ſituated about ſixty coſes weſt of Agrah, and originally ruled by Rajpoot princes.

compromiſe betwixt the contending parties. Conſonant to this reſolve, Mr. David Anderſon*, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Sindiah's Durbar, was directed to aſcertain his ſentiments in regard to the propoſed mediation. But Sindiah, either in conſequence of repeated breaches of faith on the part of Chutter Sing, was animated with a ſpirit of perſonal reſentment againſt him; or, impelled by a deſire long entertained of extending his dominions, declined the proffered interference. After a deſultory warfare of two years, the reduction of Gohud was finally effected; and, on the 24th of Nov. 1784, Rajah Chutter Sing ſurrendered himſelf to his opponent.

Sindiah having thus acquired the province of Gohud, now directed his whole attention to the affairs of Delhi. During the tranſactions before mentioned, he had maintained a correſpondence with Mirza Shuffee Khan. That nobleman entering into his views, had promiſed him his entire aſſiſtance and ſupport in its execution. But on his arrival on the north of the Chumbul with an army of thirty thouſand men, Sindiah heard of the death of his aſſociate. Deeming the opportunity for which he had ſo long and ſo anxiouſly ſought, now arrived, he, from his preſent ſtation, diſpatched letters to the court of Delhi. In theſe, after declaring his intentions of reſtoring the royal family to its former ſplendour, he made a requeſt to Shah-Aulum to remove with his court to Agrah; at which place,

* To the zealous and faithful exertions of this gentleman, as well as thoſe of his brother, Mr. James Anderſon, who ſucceeded him, may be chiefly aſcribed the conciliatory conduct of the Marhatta government, at a momentous and intereſting period, in entering into an alliance which has hitherto been preſerved with fidelity on their part. See the reports of the ſelect committee on the ſecond Marhatta war.

the Marhatta chief informed his majeſty, he would, to the ſatisfaction of all parties, arrange and ſettle the affairs of the empire.

Afraſiab Khan, on receipt of theſe letters, laid them before the king, and urged his majeſty to an immediate compliance with the contents. Shah-Aulum, who for a long time poſſeſſed neither influence nor authority, aſſented to the propoſal, and the royal tents were ordered to be got ready. The prime miniſter, after nominating Nujuff Cooli Khan to the government of the fort and city of Delhi, pitched his camp without the walls. On the enſuing day, the army took the route to Agrah.

The high pitch of authority to which the miniſter had ariſen, gave him entire controul in the ſtate; and whilſt his order of march in this expedition was marked with the moſt luxurious extravagance, inconvenience and diſtreſs attended the family of his ſovereign.—On the march, the prime miniſter received letters from the vizir and the Britiſh governor general *. Actuated by the impulſe of a liberal mind, thoſe powers, on the preſent occaſion, urged in the moſt preſſing terms the releaſe of the Nuwaub Mujud Al Dowla; and recommended to the miniſter a different treatment to his unhappy ſovereign. But the unrelenting ſpirit of Afraſiab was not to be ſoftened; intreaties or threats were to him alike indifferent. Mujud Al Dowla was ordered into a cloſer confinement; and Afraſiab Khan, leading the emperor in triumph, encamped under the walls of Agrah.

* Mr. Haſtings.

Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani had taken a ſtrong poſition about forty miles from that place, and the Marhatta prince was now advanced to Futty Pore.

Such was the ſituation of the contending parties, when Sindiah opened a negociation with Mahomed Beg. Anxious to acquire a thorough knowledge of the ſentiments of the Mogul nobility, and to learn the extent of their different views and expectations, Sindiah proceeded in a manner cautious and circumſpect: as a preliminary ſtep, he called on Mahomed Beg to exculpate himſelf from the charge of murder. In extenuation of his crime, that nobleman threw the odium of the tranſaction upon the prime miniſter. He had alledged, and truly, that Afraſiab Khan had not only inſtigated him to the deed, but bound himſelf by the moſt ſolemn ties to ſupport him in it when executed. Regarding himſelf, Mahomed Beg profeſſed a ready obedience to the commands of the Marhatta, and that if he would ſo far interfere as to procure the king's pardon, he would henceforth attach himſelf to his fortunes. Meanwhile he declared his intention of remaining quiet in his preſent poſition.—To theſe inſinuations, Sindiah in reply declared that, ſatisfied with ſuch a declaration, Mahomed Beg might rely on his interference in procuring the pardon required. Whilſt the above negociation was pending, Afraſiab Khan beheld the motions of Sindiah with a watchful and jealous eye: ſuſpecting an acceſſion of influence from the ſubmiſſion of Mahomed Beg, he prepared to circumvent it by a counter treaty. But theſe deſigns were fruſtrated by an accident which at once put a period to his ambition and his life.

To relate with preciſion the particulars of this event, we muſt recur to the ſituation of Zein Al Abudeen. That nobleman, the reader will recollect to have been forgiven: but Afraſiab well knowing his diſpoſition, would not be eaſy while he remained at liberty; on this account he had hitherto been detained in, what by the natives of Hindoſtaun was deemed, an honourable confinement. Upon the firſt letters, however, that paſſed between Afraſiab Khan and Sindiah, at the particular requeſt of the latter, Zein Al Abudeen was releaſed. He appeared in the camp, but reſolved to be avenged of his brother's death. An occaſion ſoon offered. In the month of November, an interview took place in the vicinity of Futty Pore between Sindiah and Afraſiab Khan. After the uſual interchange of civilities, Sindiah returned to his own camp. Rajah Himmut Behadur and ſeveral other officers of the army having likewiſe taken leave, there remained in the tent Zein Al Abudeen and Afraſiab Khan.

Zein Al Abudeen, whoſe plan was already formed, now entered into converſation with the miniſter. In terms apparently cordial, and in the moſt reſpectful manner, he propoſed to him for the future to live upon a more amicable footing; expreſſed his wiſh that all former differences ſhould be forgotten, and urged the neceſſity of henceforth conſolidating their mutual intereſts.

Suſpended at the unexpectedneſs of this addreſs, Afraſiab Khan remained for a time abſorbed in ſilence. But about to have replied, Zein Al Abudeen*, with fury in his countenance, roſe from his ſeat, a ſignal, upon which Maddoo Beg came up, and plunged his dagger

* MS. Narrative of Syud Rezzi Khan.

into the breaſt of the devoted miniſter. He expired on the ſpot.—A violent tumult enſuing, ſeveral perſons were ſlain: but Zein Al Abudeen having effected his eſcape, ſought and found protection in the camp of Sindiah.

Thus periſhed Afraſiab Khan, a man of turbulent diſpoſition and impetuous manners; but with great perſonal bravery, he poſſeſſed abilities for war. Zulficar Al Dowla having adopted him into his family, trained him to arms. Conſiderable were the ſervices which he rendered the ſtate, whilſt under the guidance of his patron; deprived of his ſalutary counſels, the paſſions of Afraſiab, always uncontroulable, hurried him into meaſures the moſt bold and ſanguinary. The cauſe of his ruin may be traced to his unguardedneſs in permitting Zein Al Abudeen to recover his liberty. In that inſtance circumſpect, he might perhaps have terminated his career happily.

The conduct of the Marhatta chief in countenancing Zein Al Abudeen after the perpetration of ſo foul a crime, calls loudly for the ſevereſt reprehenſion; it is a ſtrong preſumptive proof that he was acceſſary to the deed. In recording the tranſactions of a wicked and diſſipated court, the impartiality of hiſtory demands the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny; whilſt the multiplied aſſaſſinations which, in later times, have diſgraced the politics of Delhi, in a reflecting and ſuſceptible mind, muſt excite horror.

When the tumult occaſioned by Afraſiab Khan's death had ſubſided in the camp, Himmut Behadur and the Mogul officers, as if

by preconcerted agreement, repaired to the tents of the Marhatta chief. After complimenting him on the death of his rival, they aſſured him of their unanimous ſupport in his adminiſtration of affairs: they doubted not but his majeſty would confer on him the office of Ameer Al Omrah, for which he was ſo eminently qualified. Theſe aſſurances Sindiah received with real ſatisfaction; and the two armies having joined, he led the united forces to Agrah. We muſt now for a while turn aſide to the ſituation of the king, who, during the late negociations, had remained in the fort of Agrah.

The Nuwaub Mujud Al Dowla, who, as before remarked, was confined by order of the late miniſter, hearing of his rival's death, perſuaded the Killadar of Meerut to connive at his eſcape. This being effected, he, in company with Cuttub Al Dowla, viſited the king. Shah-Aulum received him with kindneſs, and directed him to remain near the preſence. This would in all probability have led to an immediate return of his honours and employments, had not his enemy, Shuja Dil Khan, governor of Agrah, in conjunction with Rajah Daieram, endeavoured to impreſs the king's mind with ſuſpicions of his fidelity. But their malice failed of effect; for the king, convinced that there was no reaſon to ſuſpect Mujud Al Dowla of any diſloyal intentions, heard their remonſtrances with diſguſt, and commanded them to deſiſt.

But the inſolent manner in which they had urged their demands, convinced Shah-Aulum that he was entirely in their power; and having little to hope for any reſpect from them in future, he reſolved to quit Agrah altogether. The arrival of Sindiah would, he hoped

and expected, ſpeedily afford him the means of puniſhing their preſumption. But in order to leave no room for thoſe noblemen to ſuſpect his intentions, he ordered the greater part of his family to remain behind; then taking Mujud Al Dowla along with him, his houſehold troops eſcorted him to Delhi.

Mahomed Beg Khan, to whoſe ſituation we muſt now recur, remained, during the late tranſactions, in his entrenched camp. Sindiah, on Afraſiab's death, wrote to Mahomed Beg to repair to Agrah. A conference enſued, and a penſion of 16,000 rupees per month was allotted for his ſupport out of the revenues of Shekooabad. A few days after, Sindiah, with his uſual policy, reſolved to employ the abilities of his newly-acquired dependant on a diſtant expedition. By removing Mahomed Beg from the ſcene of action in Hindoſtaun, he effectually prevented any cabals for counteracting his own deſigns; and the probability of his being taken off while employed on active ſervice was an additional motive in the mind of this politic chief. He therefore requeſted of Mahomed Beg to proceed to the conqueſt of Rhago Ghur, a ſtrong fortreſs in Deccan, and bordering upon Sindiah's patrimonial eſtate. The country of Keetchwara, in which the before-mentioned fortreſs is ſituated, was then in a ſtate of actual rebellion; and to Mahomed Beg was committed the double charge of reducing it under obedience to Sindiah, and the ſubſequent management of the diſtricts. Having made the neceſſary preparations for his departure, Mahomed Beg Khan, accompanied by 5000 men, proceeded on his expediton to Rhago Ghur.

The greater part of the Mogul nobility having by this time declared for Sindiah, he now repaired with confidence to the capital. His expectations were fully anſwered; for, whether Shah-Aulum, diſguſted at the thraldom in which he had been held ſince the death of Nujuff Khan, expected by a change in the government to experience ſome repoſe, or whether he, on this occaſion, made a virtue of neceſſity, has not been clearly aſcertained. To Sindiah, however, the event proved highly favourable. In the month of January, the Marhatta chief entered Delhi. He was received by the king with every demonſtration of ſatisfaction, and treated with diſtinguiſhed honour. In full Durbar, his majeſty inveſted him with the office of Ameer Al Omrah; and as an additional mark of favour, ordered a patent to be made out for the Paiſhwah of the Poonah Durbar, (under whoſe authority Sindiah profeſſed to act) conſtituting him Vakeel Mutluck *, or Abſolute Director General of the affairs of the Empire, with the Neabut of that office to Sindiah himſelf. On receiving his honorary dreſs, the new miniſter preſented an offering of five lacks of rupees, and retired from the preſence.

* The office of Vakeel Mutlúck in Hindoſtaun is paramount almoſt to ſovereign authority, inaſmuch as it empowers the perſon holding that office to raiſe troops at pleaſure. It may appear remarkable that the Paiſhwah, who is the head of the Marhatta empire, ſhould deem it any acquiſition to his authority to receive an office from what he conſidered as coming from a nominal emperor of Hindoſtaun: yet it ſhould be remembered, that however weak and impotent the preſent deſcendant of Timoor is eſteemed, it ſtill continues, and ever will continue, a deſirable object among the native powers to make uſe of his name towards completing their own aggrandiſement.

CHAP. IX.

Occurrences at Court—War againſt JYPORE—*Intrigues of the* MOGUL *Nobility*—SINDIAH *is defeated—Retires acroſs the* CHUMBUL—*Intrigues of* GHOLAUM CADIR KHAN—*Account of* BEGUM SOMROO—GHOLAUM CADIR KHAN *beſieges the Palace—He is repulſed and pardoned—Prince* MIRZA JUWAUN BUKHT *—Review of his Life—Death and Character.*

DURING the late violent commotions, the provinces had fallen into diſorder and decay. Their reſtoration was the firſt object to which the attention of the new miniſter was directed. The office of Dewaun, or ſuperintendant of the revenues, had long been under the management of Daieram. His conduct of late had, in many inſtances, been highly reprehenſible; but his behaviour towards the king at Agrah, determined Sindiah to remove him from office. The Dewanſhip was accordingly beſtowed on Naraien Daſs, a perſon of capacity, and a ſkilful financier. Remaining a ſhort time at Delhi, during which he diſpoſed of ſeveral offices and employments, Sindiah aſſembled the army for the reduction of Agrah.

The commencement of the current year was marked by the departure of the Britiſh governor general from India. In quitting this important truſt, Mr. Haſtings had the ſatisfaction to perceive himſelf followed by the unanimous good wiſhes of the princes of Hindoſtaun, and the prayers of the natives. On the preſent occaſion,

the king, the vizier of the empire, the nazim of Deccan and the court of Poonah, all ſent letters to Calcutta; in thoſe were expreſſed their regret for the governor's departure, and contained moreover moſt ample teſtimonies of the high opinion they entertained of his abilities, integrity, and good faith *.

On the arrival of the army before Agrah, Sindiah ſummoned the governor to ſurrender the fort. He declared alſo, that by a reſiſtance to the royal authority, the governor could have no hope for pardon. Treating the ſummons with contempt, Shujah Dil Khan prepared for a vigorous reſiſtance. Sindiah commencing his approaches, two batteries were ſoon opened, and began to play upon the fort with conſiderable effect. Part of the curtain was thrown down, and ſeveral guns within diſmounted. The governor in the mean time was not idle. He repaired the breaches with inceſſant activity, and by his own ſpirited behaviour animated the garriſon. A month had elapſed when Shujah Dil Khan, foreſeeing the ultimate reduction of the place, endeavoured, by an act of aſſumed reſpect, to mollify Shah-Aulum. That part of the royal family who, as before ſeen, remained in the fort of Agrah, were now liberated, and ſent with an eſcort to Delhi, which they reached without moleſtation.

* Time, which removes the veil from the intrigues of policy, has evinced, that the ideas entertained by the natives of India, of that illuſtrious character, were juſt. His countrymen have beheld with a ſatisfaction, almoſt univerſal, the honourable award of a Britiſh Senate; an award no leſs honourable to the character of Mr. Haſtings, than grateful to his mind, harraſſed by the degrading circumſtances attendant on a proſecution, which is without parallel in the annals of mankind.

Sindiah perceived that the ſiege advanced but ſlowly; he hoped therefore, that by opening a negotiation with ſome leading men among the beſieged, to gain them over to his intereſts. The event anſwered his wiſhes. The Cutwal and ſeveral other officers having been bribed by a large ſum of money and a promiſe of perſonal ſecurity, agreed to deliver up one of the gates of the fort. On a preconcerted ſignal, a ſelect body of troops preſenting themſelves, were admitted by the treacherous Cutwal, and, before the governor or his aſſociate Daieram could receive information, were overpowered and taken priſoners. They were immediately put into cloſe confinement, and ſent off to the camp. Sindiah, when poſſeſſed of the fort, by not permitting it to be plundered, acted with becoming policy; he, however, exacted conſiderable ſums from the moſt wealthy inhabitants, which he diſtributed as a largeſs to the army. Of the whole of the poſſeſſions of the late Afraſiab Khan there now rmained only Ali Ghur. That fort is ſituated in the upper part of the Doo Ab. It had been fortified with great care, and in it were depoſited the family and treaſures of the deceaſed Nuwaub. Jahaungire Khan, his brother, commanded in Ali Ghur. He had a ſtrong garriſon, and the ſiege was expected to be long and bloody. Early in the month of July of the current year Sindiah appeared before the place. Contrary, however, to all expectation, it held out but a ſhort time. It has been imagined that the fears of the women, for the preſervation of their honour and effects, had inclined the Killadar to pacific meaſures. Certain it is that Jehaungire Khan, ſignifying his readineſs to negotiate, a treaty was accordingly drawn up, and agreed to by the reſpective parties. To Khadim Hoſſeen Khan, eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed Nuwaub, a jaghire was allotted,

amounting to a yearly revenue of a lack and a half of rupees. To the Begums were promiſed an honourable aſylum, and to Jehangire Khan perſonal ſafety. It appears, however, that this treaty was very ill adhered to by the Marhatta Chief; for on the place being ſurrendered, the Begums and Jehangire Khan were ſent under a ſtrong guard to the fort of Gualior, and there detained in confinement. The young Nuwaub, indeed, was received by Sindiah with great attention, and directed to remain in the royal camp. Sindiah then took poſſeſſion of the fort, and with it the whole of the treaſures of Afraſiab Khan, amounting, as it has been affirmed, in ſpecie, jewels, and valuable articles, to a crore of rupees.

The fall of Ali Ghur eſtabliſhed the miniſter's authority on a firm and ſolid baſis. Having before reduced under obedience the greater part of the Doo Ab and the countries ſouth-weſt of the Jumna, he now found himſelf maſter of the whole of the poſſeſſions of the late Zulficar Al Dowlah, with an acquiſition of revenue of two crore of rupees.

Intelligence of theſe important ſucceſſes reaching Delhi, Shah-Aulum demonſtrated his ſatisfaction by ſignal marks of favour. Theſe were conveyed to the prime miniſter in three hundred ſuperb Khilluts, to be diſtributed by him to the officers of the army. Nor was Sindiah leſs liberal in his return. Twelve lacks of rupees were allotted for the ſupport of the king's houſehold; and he moreover ſent rich preſents to court.

About this time the prince Juwaun Bukht, the heir apparent, then

reſiding at Benares, forwarded to court a paiſhcuſh of one lack of rupees. This teſtimony of attention afforded great conſolation to the king's mind. He now, for the firſt time ſince the death of Zulficar Al Dowlah, experienced ſome repoſe from the tumultuous cabals which had ſo long diſgraced his court, and filled him with inquietude and anguiſh.

The departure of Mr. Haſtings having occaſioned ſome changes in the Britiſh adminiſtration, perſpicuity requires that we bring under one head ſuch tranſactions under that government as bear relation to the court of Delhi, during the current year. Sir John Macpherſon ſucceeded Mr. Haſtings in the chair. That gentleman, equally well inclined with his predeceſſor to pay every attention in his power to the king's intereſts, took an early opportunity of ſignifying the ſame. He confirmed to the Shah Zadah the generous aid he had received the preceding year, and through him aſſured his majeſty, that the Britiſh government would, on all reaſonable occaſions, extend their aid in ſupport of his authority.

On the part of Sindiah Mr. James Anderſon had ſucceeded his brother as ambaſſador to that Durbar. Major Brown, who had reſided at court for ſome time paſt, was now recalled.

On the ſide of Oude, Major Palmer, who had reſided at the court of Aſuf Al Dowla the two preceding years, was now, at his own requeſt, removed. To him ſucceeded Colonel Harper, who took an early opportunity of paying attention to the king, which he

ſignified by letters, accompanied on the part of the governor general by a paiſhcuſh ſuitable to the occaſion.

From theſe digreſſions we return to affairs at court. After the capture of Ali Ghur, Sindiah repaired to Delhi, where, on his arrival, his whole care and attention were directed to reſtoring good order to the government, in all affairs, both foreign and domeſtic.

Shah-Nizam Al Deen, a confidential ſervant of the miniſter, was appointed to the ſuperintendance of the royal houſehold, to which his majeſty added the government of the fort and city of Delhi.

Toward the cloſe of the current year died Zabita Khan, ruler of Sehaurunpore, a man, whoſe long and active life had been marked with a variety of alternate ſucceſs and misfortune.

Taken comparatively with his father Najeeb Al Dowlah, Zabita Khan appears to have been of inferior capacity; his frequent rebellions, and the native turbulency of his temper, had totally eſtranged from him the king's mind, and the account of his death was received at court with indifference.

Zabita Khan was ſucceeded in his territories by his eldeſt ſon Gholaum Caudir Khan. He was a youth, proud, cruel, and ferocious. His firſt act on aſſuming the government was the expulſion of his uncle Afzul Khan. This nobleman was at the time advanced in years, and admired for his exemplary manners. On his degradation Gholaum Caudir ordered his effects to be ſeized and confiſcated.

This bold aſſumption of the government, without conſulting the court, or petitioning for a continuation of the Sunnud, agreeable to the eſtabliſhed uſage of Hindoſtaun, gave great offence to the king. But Gholaum Caudir, well aware of the conſequences, prepared to ſupport his rebellion by open violence. The fort of Ghoſe Ghur was accordingly put into a ſtate of defence, and the means of aſſembling a conſiderable force was afforded him by the confiſcation of his uncle's property.

In thoſe acts Gholaum Caudir exhibited the firſt ſymptoms of that diabolical ſpirit which deſignated the actions of his future life. To him it was reſerved to diſgrace the houſe of Timoor, and to add the laſt outrage to the miſeries of a long and moſt unfortunate reign. But previous to entering into a detail of the intrigues of Gholaum Caudir, we muſt for a while carry forward the affairs of Sindiah, and his operations with the neighbouring ſtates.

Intelligence of the defection of Gholaum Caudir had ſcarcely arrived at court, when the prime miniſter was alarmed by an account of the rebellious deſigns of the Jynaghur prince. Pertaub Sing, informed of the late tranſactions at Ghoſe Ghur, had at the ſame time withheld his accuſtomed tribute. He thought the preſent opportunity favourable to a deſign long entertained of rendering himſelf independant. Sindiah prepared to ſubdue him by force: but the advice of the Rajah's confidential ſervants prevented for the preſent matters proceeding to extremity. They, foreſeeing ruin to his cauſe while Sindiah continued ſo powerful in the ſtate, perſuaded Pertaub Sing to deſiſt. Their advice was attended with

effect. The tribute was ſent, and an additional paiſhcuſh which accompanied it appeaſed the reſentment of Shah-Aulum.

Reſpected on all ſides by the country powers, this fortunate Marhatta chief now ſaw with exultation his authority arrived at its higheſt extent. The factious ſpirit which had been exhibited by the Mogul nobility was quelled; and Sindiah's ſubſequent conduct toward that powerful body contributed both to reconcile them to his cauſe, and attach them to his perſon. Thus eligibly ſituated, had Sindiah properly appreciated his good fortune, he might have ſecured a power complete and unimpaired to the end. Unfortunately, however, a ſpirit of avarice gaining ground in his breaſt, inclined or impelled him to deviate from that line of liberal policy by which, at the firſt advance of his authority, he had been wiſely guided. This deviation led in its conſequences to events of a moſt ſerious nature, and had well nigh proved the utter deſtruction of the miniſter. But in order to explain the cauſes of an act which, in its execution, was followed by a revolution in the ſtate, it will be here neceſſary to detail in a more particular manner the nature and tenure of the Jaiedads, or, as known in Hindoſtaun, thoſe lands which are appropriated for the ſupport of the troops.

In moſt of the courts of India, certain portions of land are ſet apart for the payment of the army; theſe are termed Jaiedads, a tenure which ſecures to the poſſeſſor a ſure and eaſy collection: they are made over to the commanding officers, who, excluſive of the advantages they derive from theſe aſſignments in realizing their pay, are moreover enabled to retain a numerous body of dependants.

Theſe increaſed their conſequence in the ſtate, and not unfrequently afforded them the means of perſonal ſafety, when their turbulent ambition led them to rebel againſt their ſovereign. It was theſe Jaiedads that the Miniſter determined to reſume; and for the cauſes before mentioned, their reſumption at this juncture was equally dangerous, impolitic, and unjuſt: yet did Sindiah perſiſt; and though having the examples of Mirza Shuffee and others of his predeceſſors before his eyes, he, with a pertinacity approaching to infatuation, carried his reſolves into effect. Conſiderable murmurs there were, but the great force of Marhattas kept up by the miniſter, prevented for the preſent any open act of hoſtility on the part of the Mogul officers. In ſecret, however, fired with reſentment, they reſolved on vengeance. The blow was gradually preparing. About this time Naraieen Dauſs, who, ſince the death of Afraſiab Khan, had conducted the affairs of the Khaliſa, was ſuddenly, without accuſation, diſmiſſed from his employment, and his property, to a large amount, openly confiſcated for the miniſter's uſe. The vacant office was confirmed on Shah-Nuzam Al Deen.

Such repeated acts of injuſtice excited extreme diſguſt. Rajah Himmut Behadur, who had ſo eminently aſſiſted the deſigns of Sindiah, was not the laſt to experience an ungrateful return. An account of his Jaiedad, together with certain balances, ſaid to be due to the royal treaſury, were demanded of him in the moſt peremptory terms. But Himmut Behadur, indignant at the controul attempted to be exerted over him, reſolved to withhold all future ſupport from his ungrateful aſſociate. Quitting the court, therefore, he withdrew to his eſtate near Bindrabund, and prepared for reſiſtance.

The downfall of the miniſter's authority was accelerated by a rupture with the Rajah of Jynaghur, againſt whom a war now ſeemed inevitable.

Pertaub Sing, though himſelf of weak capacity, and enervated by effeminate pleaſures, had nevertheleſs, during a long interval of peace, increaſed the revenues, and extended the commerce of his country. He now reſolved openly to declare his independance of the court; and having, as a prelude to his rebellion, withheld the cuſtomary tribute, he began to collect forces, and prepare himſelf for the conſequences. But previous to entering into a detail of the war againſt Jynaghur, we muſt recur for a while to the ſituation of Mahomed Beg Hamdani, who bore a conſiderable ſhare in that war. Mahomed Beg, the reader will recollect, had been ſent into the country of Kitchwara, where having reduced the fortreſs of Ragho Ghur, and ſettled the affairs of the province, he remained in that ſtation for three years. Sindiah now ordered him to the capital, where he arrived at the commencement of the current year. As he brought with him a conſiderable body of his Mogul troops, the miniſter received him in a manner apparently cordial; but dreading his power and influence whilſt at the head of an army, endeavoured to perſuade him to diſband his troops. To this Mahomed Beg gave a poſitive refuſal; and the intelligence of the revolt of Pertaub Sing arriving at court, deterred the Marhatta prince from enforcing compliance. Mahomed Beg, who retained in his breaſt a deep reſentment, was reſolved, as opportunity ſhould occur, of gratifying it to the full extent. He had ſince his return entered into a correſpondence with the prince of Jynaghur, which was terminated by an

alliance with that chief. Mean while Sindiah having made the neceſſary preparations for the campaign, committed the care of the capital to his deputy Shah Nuzam Al Deen, and marched towards Jynaghur. Pertaub Sing, attended by a numerous army, which he had recruited by alliances with ſeveral of the neighbouring Rajpoot princes, was encamped on the frontiers of his dominions.—The effect of that diſguſt, long entertained by the Mogul officers, now began to manifeſt itſelf to the detriment of the prime miniſter. Scarcely was he arrived in the preſence of the enemy when he received information of a defection among his own troops. The Mogul nobility, headed by Mahomed Beg Khan, had ſecretly entered into engagements with Pertaub Sing, whoſe ſplendid offers of money and employment in his ſervice at once gratified their avarice, and afforded them the means of being revenged for the indignities they had ſuſtained from the Marhatta prince. Through the agency of Rajah Daieram a treaty was formally drawn up, by which it was ſettled, that on the approach of the miniſter's army, Mahomed Beg and the other Mogul lords ſhould join Pertaub Sing. Accordingly, attended by their whole force, they, in the face of Sindiah's army, went over to the enemy. Aſtoniſhed, but not diſmayed at this treacherous act, Sindiah with his remaining force heſitated not to give inſtant battle. The action which enſued was long and bloody; but Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani having been ſlain by a cannon ball, the Moguls received a check, and were thrown into ſome confuſion. Pertaub Sing, informed of this accident, haſtened to the ſpot, and conferred the command of the Moguls upon Iſmaeel Beg, nephew of the deceaſed chief. Iſmaeel Beg renewing the combat with ardour, ſoon recovered from the diſorder,

and reſtored the ſucceſs of the day. But the event would have ſtill remained doubtful, had not ſome diſciplined battalions, formerly in the ſervice of Afraſiab Khan, at this critical moment, ſuddenly gone over to the enemy, by which the Marhattas were diſpirited beyond repair. The affair was immediately decided; Sindiah retreated from the field with expedition, and was obliged to take refuge in the fort of Alwar, the capital of his ally, the prince of Macheri. That chief received the fugitive with cordiality and reſpect: but the ſevere check which Sindiah's authority had ſuſtained in the loſs of the late battle, and the diſperſed ſtate of the Marhatta army, convinced him that he could not long hold his ſituation at court. Collecting, therefore, the remains of his diſcomfited forces, he quitted Alwar, and retiring ſouthward acroſs the Chumbul, repaired to Gualior, there to wait for reinforcements from Deccan.

Had the Jynaghur prince on this occaſion made a proper uſe of his victory, it is probable the Marhatta influence in Hindoſtaun would have been totally annihilated; but content with having cleared his dominions of the invader, Pertaub Sing, after firſt detaching the Mogul force under Iſmaeel Beg to beſiege Agrah, which place was ſtill in the hands of the Marhattas, he himſelf returned to Jynaghur.

The fort of Agrah was defended by Lackwajee, the Marhatta general; he had with him a ſtrong garriſon, with abundance of proviſions and every thing requiſite to ſuſtain the attack. But the inhabitants of the city, totally unprepared with any means of reſiſtance, and intimidated by threats of military execution, quietly ſub-

mitted on the firſt approach of Iſmaeel Beg. That chief having laid the inhabitants under a ſevere contribution, now formally demanded a ſurrender of the fort, to which Lackwajee replying in the negative, Iſmaeel Beg commenced the ſiege.

Our attention muſt now be directed to the diſagreeable ſituation into which the king had been thrown by the defeat and ſubſequent departure of the Marhatta army from Alwar. Prior to that event, Sindiah had received certain intelligence that the late deſertion of the Mogul officers was owing to the intrigues of Rajah Daieram. Reſtleſs and turbulent in diſpoſition, that nobleman was continually employed in fomenting the intrigues and reviving the diſcontent of the Mogul nobility; and through his negociation, the treaty before mentioned with Pertaub Sing had been effected. Sindiah, in acquainting his deputy, Shah Nuzzam Al Deen, with this circumſtance, urged him to inflict exemplary puniſhment upon the traitor. His orders were obeyed; for having cauſed Rajah Daieram to be arreſted and brought to court, the ferocious deputy, even in the royal preſence, gave orders for the unhappy wretch to be trodden to death under the feet of an elephant *.

Although, by this ſanguinary deed, the deputy evinced a determined ſpirited to ſupport the Marhatta authority, the accounts of his maſter's defeat and ſubſequent movement towards Deccan, prepared him to expect the moſt unpleaſant iſſue. He accordingly put the fort and city of Delhi into the beſt poſſible ſtate of defence. Of theſe precautions he ſoon found there was ſufficient need. Gholaum

* MS. Narrative of Synd Rezzi Khan.

Cadir Cawn, who, as before remarked, had aſſembled an army, now determined to employ it in the advancement of his ambitious ſchemes. In a few days he arrived on the eaſtern bank of the Jumna, and encamped oppoſite the citadel. The Rohilla chief, however, reſted not his hopes of ſucceſs wholly on arms. He had attached to his intereſts a perſon of great influence, as well in the councils, as over the mind of the king. This man was Munſoor Ali Khan, the Nazir*, who, bred up with Shah-Aulum, had, from his earlieſt youth, been a confidential ſervant, and loaded with a profuſion of honours and diſtinguiſhed kindneſs; but forgetful of the duty he owed his ſovereign, or gratitude due to his benefactor, the treacherous Nazir joined in the intrigues of the rebel. By the advocates for the Nazir it has been aſſerted, that hatred againſt the Marhatta government was the real cauſe of ſo extraordinary a conduct. From whatever motive it aroſe, certain it is, the Nazir was determined to introduce Gholaum Cadir into the adminiſtration; and had accordingly ſent letters to the rebel, urging his ſpeedy appearance to demand of his majeſty the vacant office of Ameer Al Omrah.

Great was the conſternation occaſioned at Delhi by the arrival of the Rohilla army; but Shah Nizam Al Deen, aſſiſted by Deſmouk, ſon-in-law of Sindiah, prepared to repel the invader. Unhappily for themſelves, they deſpiſed the force of Gholaum Cadir; and lulled into a fatal ſecurity, were contented with detaching a ſmall force acroſs the river, giving poſitive orders to the commanding officer to make an immediate attack on the enemy's camp. Of this inattention they, in the ſequel, had cauſe to repent: the battalions,

* Superintendant of the houſehold.

on the very firſt onſet, were driven back and diſperſed by the Rohillas with great loſs; they purſued them to the banks of the river, where, boats not being at hand, many threw themſelves into the Jumna and periſhed miſerably: the few who ſurvived, aſhamed to appear before the deputy, diſperſed themſelves over the city, and, as uſual in Hindoſtaun, began to plunder.

The deputy ſeeing the diſaſtrous poſture of affairs, and having by this time received intelligence of the traitorous deſigns of the Nazir, prepared by a ſpeedy flight to ſave himſelf from the vengeance of the conqueror. Accompanied by Deſmouk, he withdrew privately from Delhi. They repaired to the fort of Bullum Ghur, a place twenty miles ſouth of the capital. Hera Sing, Killadar of that place, received them with humanity: but Shah Nizam Al Deen not deeming himſelf ſufficiently ſafe at Bullum Ghur, retired from thence to Deig, which ſtill acknowledged Sindiah's authority. Deſmouk repaired to his father-in-law, whom he joined in the neighbourhood of Gualior.

On the flight of the deputy from Delhi being made public, Gholaum Cadir prepared to reap the fruits of his late ſucceſs. He croſſed the river with a ſelect body of troops, and went direct to the king's palace. On his arrival, (agreeably to a concerted plan) he was introduced by the treacherous Nazir to the emperor. When honoured with the cuſtomary khillut, Gholaum Caudir preferred his petition for the inveſtiture of the office of Ameer Al Omrah, and concluded with proteſtations of fidelity and attachment to his majeſty's perſon. Shah-Aulum, perceiving himſelf without reſource, was

conſtrained, much againſt his inclination, to grant the requeſt of this turbulent chief. Having acquieſced in the demand, the patent of creation was ordered to be got ready, and the Rohilla with a reſpectful obeiſance retired from the preſence.

Though by compulſatory means Gholaum Caudir had thus attained the deſired object, his power was by no means ſecurely eſtabliſhed. Several perſons well attached to the Marhatta government, as likewiſe to the king's perſon, ſtill remained in Delhi. Theſe, indignant at the unworthy treatment of their ſovereign, and pitying his degraded ſtate, reſolved to make one effort for the reſtoration of his authority. Amongſt others was the Begum Somroo, who at that time had conſiderable influence in the councils of Delhi. This lady, wife of Somroo, (a name too well known to Engliſhmen by his infamous conduct at Patna,) now commanded the diſciplined battalions which he had raiſed, and was morever poſſeſſed of a conſiderable jaghire.

As this lady will bear a conſiderable ſhare in the remaining tranſactions, we ſhall proceed to a conciſe retroſpect of her ſituation and progreſs to authority.

Somroo, a German adventurer, whom a ſpirited author * has emphatically ſtiled "the bloody agent of the cruelties of Meer Coſſim," after the ruin of his maſter's affairs, retired into the Jaut province. He was there taken into the ſervice of the late Zulficar Al Dowla, then in the plenitude of his power. In addition to his diſciplined

* Captain Jonathan Scott, Hiſt. of Deccan, Vol. II.

battalions, Nujuff Khan gave him the command of a body of Mogul horſe; and for the ſupport of the whole, aſſigned him the Pergunnah of Serdhauna, ſituated in the upper part of Doo Ab, as a Jaiedad. Somroo, previous to his death, which happened in 1778, married the daughter of a Mogul nobleman, whoſe family, from the unſettled ſtate of the times, had fallen into diſtreſs. This lady, the preſent Begum, at the perſuaſion of her huſband, embraced the Chriſtian faith. She received from the king the title of Zeeb Al Niſſaa, or, Ornament of the Sex; and on Somroo's demiſe, was continued in command over the troops, and confirmed by Nujuff Khan in the management of her Jaghire. In the centre of the ruined province of Sehaurunpore, in twenty-ninth degree N. latitude, and about ſixty miles diſtant from the capital, riſes the ſmall but fertile principality of Serdhauna; it is bounded on the north by the town of Berhauna, on the eaſt by Nowlah, weſt by the Hingun river near the town of Bernaba, and ſouth by the diſtrict of Meerut. Its extent from north to ſouth is thirty-ſix miles, and twenty-four from eaſt to weſt. An unremitting attention to the cultivation of the lands, a mild and upright adminiſtration, and care for the welfare of the inhabitants, has enabled this ſmall tract to vie with the moſt cultivated parts of Hindoſtaun, and to yield a revenue of ten lacks of rupees per annum. The rivers Hingun and Criſhna, which traverſe this valuable jaghire, afford an ample ſupply of water; and the ſoil, naturally fertile, produces in abundance grain of all kinds, cotton, ſugar-cane, and tobacco.

The town of Sedhauna, where the Begum generally reſides, is of conſiderable extent, pleaſantly ſituated, and commanding a fine

view of the mountains of Himmeleh to the north-eaſt. A fort near the town contains a good arſenal and foundery for cannon. Five battalions of diſciplined Seapoys, commanded by Europeans of different countries, and about forty pieces of cannon of various calibres, conſtitute the force kept up by Begum Somroo. With theſe and about two hundred Europeans, principally employed in the ſervice of artillery, ſhe is enabled to maintain a reſpectable ſituation among the neighbouring powers.

While the ſurrounding lands exhibit the effects of deſolation and diſtreſs, the flouriſhing appearance of this Jaghire impreſſes the mind of the traveller with ſenſations moſt gratifying; and it is upon this principle, that, deviating from the rigid line of hiſtorical preciſion, we embrace the opportunity of paying a tribute deſervedly due to the ſpirit, activity, and talents of this noble lady. Endowed by nature with maſculine intrepidity, aſſiſted by a judgement and foreſight clear and comprehenſive, Begum Somroo, during the various revolutions above detailed, was enabled to preſerve her country unmoleſted, and her authority unimpaired. In the ſucceſſive adminiſtration of Zulficar Al Dowla, Mirza Shuffee, and Afraſiab Khan, ſhe was confirmed in her poſſeſſions; and when Sindiah arrived at ſupreme power, he added to the extent of them by a grant of ſome other lands ſouth-weſt of the Jumna. In the war againſt Pertaub Sing, Begum Somroo with her force was ſtationed at Panniput on the frontier, and in committing ſo important a truſt to her charge was ſufficient proof of the idea the Marhatta chief had conceived of her capacity. Her conduct now evinced that that confidence had not been miſplaced, and her ſpirited exertions in defence of the

king's authority acquired deſerved applauſe in the breaſts of all. To this lady, then, Gholaum Cadir, on retiring from the preſence, made offers of alliance. Aware of her influence at court, the artful Rohilla endeavoured, by the moſt ſtudied reſpect to acquire her ſupport in the extenſion of his uſurped authority, aſſured her of a grateful return on his part, and finally proffered her an equal ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs. The proſpect was tempting; but the Begum, well acquainted with the characteriſtic perfidy of the Rohilla, and reſolved to defend her ſovereign, rejected all his ſolicitations; and to give proof of her reſolution to maintain the king's authority, ſhe with her whole force repaired to the palace, and declared her intention of ſacrificing her life in his majeſty's cauſe. Her appearance gave great conſolation to the king; and ſome other officers at the ſame time aſſembling troops, the court began to talk in a higher ſtrain toward the rebel. Matters drew near to a criſis. Gholaum Cadir, baffled in his attempts to acquire the Begum's ſupport, when informed of what had paſſed, was inflamed with ſavage fury. Going to his camp on the oppoſite bank of the Jumna, he thence diſpatched a meſſenger to court, demanding, in terms moſt peremptory, the immediate removal of Somroo's wife, adding, that in the event of non-compliance he ſhould proceed to hoſtilities. His meſſage having been treated with the contempt it deſerved, Gholaum Cadir commenced a heavy cannonade upon the royal palace*. This was anſwered from ſome artillery in the fort, from the guns attached to the Mogul battalions in his majeſty's ſervice, and from a battery which had been erected with great expedition by Begum Somroo. Conſiderable damage

* Syud Rezzi Khan's MS. narrative.

was done to the palace by this outrageous inſult; but the king's troops behaving with great firmneſs and ſpirit, it is moſt probable the Rohilla would have been compelled to retire. For the preſent, however, he was ſaved by the treacherous machination of his aſſociate within the fort. The Nazir ſuddenly declared, that the royal treaſury was exhauſted, and refuſed to make any farther diſburſements for the troops. This untoward circumſtance on ſo critical an occaſion, greatly embarraſſed his majeſty's affairs; but as the urgency of the caſe required ſome immediate ſteps, the royal jewels and ſeveral articles of the houſehold were depoſited to raiſe a ſum of money, which was immediately given to the ſoldiery. During this diſgraceful ſcene, intelligence arrived that the Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, accompanied by a large army, was on his march to the capital. Of this event the Nazir conveyed private information to Gholaum Caudir, and foreſeeing that the prince's arrival would diſconcert his perfidious ſchemes, he ſtrongly recommended the Rohilla to make immediate overtures for a pacification, to which he doubted not the King would agree. No time was to be loſt; Gholaum Caudir, therefore, having ſignified to his majeſty his ſincere contrition for the late inſult, preſented a handſome paiſhcuſh in ready money, and moreover promiſed to reſtore all the royal lands in Doo Ab which he had lately uſurped. To theſe offers Shah-Aulum, who knew the inſincerity of the Rohilla, would not have conſented, but, urged by the repeated ſolicitations of the Nazir, whom by a blind infatuation he deemed a faithful ſervant, at length acquieſced in the propoſals. The terms being ſettled, an honorary dreſs was diſpatched over the river to Gholaum Caudir Khan, who immediately after receiving it, ſtruck his camp, and returned to Sehaurunpore.

Scarcely had he departed when letters from the prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht arrived at court. In theſe, after acquainting his father of his rapid approach, he congratulated him on the proſpect now afforded of puniſhing the rebel, and earneſtly requeſting the king not to enter into terms. The intimation arrived too late. To account for the prince's re-appearance at the capital, we muſt now proceed to a brief review of the occurrences of his life.

The death of Nujeeb Al Dowla in 1769, and the intrigues of the Marhattas having, as already related, recalled Shah-Aulum to his capital, the prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht from that period continued to reſide with his father. During the various revolutions which occurred, the prince, by living in a retired ſtate, and forbearing to interfere with public affairs, eſcaped from the perilous ſituation of the contending parties. But the conduct of Afraſiab Khan having, as before remarked, excited in his breaſt a juſt indignation, Mirza Juwaun Bukht reſolved to ſeek an aſylum at the court of Oude. In the year 1784 he effected his eſcape from the palace; and accompanied only by a few perſons, he croſſed the Jumna, and afterwards the Ganges, from whence he repaired to Rampore, the capital of Fizoolah Khan *. He was received by that chief with every attention due to his high rank, and treated with profuſe hoſpitality. At his departure, the benevolent Rohilla directed a detachment of horſe to accompany him to the vizir's frontier.

* See a particular detail of the prince's eſcape, tranſlated from the Perſian language, by Captain Jonathan Scott, at the end of a very intereſting memoir written by Mr. Haſtings, late governor-general of India.

On his arrival at Lucknow, the prince was received by the vizir and the Britiſh governor-general, who had lately repaired to Oude, in order to make ſome arrangements in the affairs of that province. At Mr. Haſtings' ſuggeſtion, the vizir was induced, not only to extend his protection to the fugitive prince, but to allow him a proviſion of four lacks of rupees for the ſupport of his eſtabliſhment, and, moreover, furniſh him with a houſe and every ſuitable convenience becoming his dignity. On the governor's departure for Benares, the prince, from motives of gratitude, reſolved to accompany him to that place, where an event occurred which awakened his ambition, and determined him to return to his father's court. Hearing of the death of Afraſiab Khan, the prince applied to Mr. Haſtings to aſſiſt him with an armed force, to accompany him to Delhi, for the recovery of his authority; but the governor, not deeming himſelf authorized to interfere in the politics of Delhi, declined his aſſent. Mirza Juwaun Bukht, on the governor's departure for Calcutta, returned to Lucknow, where he had not long been, when a viſible alteration was perceived in the behaviour of Aſuf al Dowla. The cauſe of the breach that enſued between them has not been correctly aſcertained; by ſome it was alledged, that the want of punctuality in the payment of the prince's ſtipend, occaſioned a ſharp animadverſion on his part; on the other hand it was affirmed, and probably with ſome reaſon, that the vizir was not altogether ſo well pleaſed at the diminution his own revenues ſuſtained in granting the allowance before mentioned; but ſuch ſentiments were ſurely unworthy of the vizir of the empire, whoſe family had riſen to power by the favour of his majeſty's anceſtors, and on which account the prince ought to have been treated with all imaginable kindneſs.

Certain, however, it is, that the prince, in conſequence of the ſlights which he received, determined him to remove from the court of Oude. In 1785, he repaired to Benares, and made another, though ineffectual, attempt to intereſt the Britiſh government in affording him aſſiſtance for the re-eſtabliſhment of his authority at Delhi. His application failed of ſucceſs; but Mirza Juwaun Bukht was aſſured that an aſylum for himſelf and his family would always be readily granted within the company's territories, and as his highneſs declined returning to Lucknow, an order was iſſued upon the company's treaſury at Benares, for the payment of the ſtipend which had been allowed him by the vizir. In a ſituation ſo eligible, Mirza Juwaun Bukht, had he properly appreciated it, might have paſſed the remainder of his days in happineſs and comfort; but a reſtleſs ſpirit of ambition impelled him to enter into the politics of the times, and in the end cauſed him inconceivable anxiety and the moſt bitter, though unavailing, regret. Not however, to anticipate our narrative, it is here ſufficient to remark, that about this period Earl Cornwallis, who had been nominated to the ſupreme government in India, arrived at the city of Benares in his way to the vizir's court. To him, the Shah Zada in the moſt preſſing manner, renewed his ſolicitations for aſſiſtance from the Engliſh; but Earl Cornwallis, adopting the ſame line of conduct as his predeceſſors, was compelled to give a decided negative to his requeſts. The governor-general*, however, from motives highly to be commended, ſeriouſly adviſed the prince to remain where he was; he aſſured him that the

* MS. narrative of Syud Rezzi Khan.

reſpect entertained by the Britiſh government towards his illuſtrious houſe, would ever be evinced, by rendering his highneſs ſuch aſſiſtance as did not militate againſt the general line of policy which they had adopted in their concerns with the princes of Hindoſtaun, and, finally, his lordſhip concluded with obſerving to his highneſs, that the company's territories would always afford him a ſafe and honourable aſylum.

Soon after this conference, the governor-general purſued his journey to Oude, whither the prince followed him. By the good offices of Earl Cornwallis, an interview between the prince and the vizir was effected, and an apparent reconciliation enſued: we affirm apparently only, for the ſubſequent conduct of the vizir, after Earl Cornwallis's departure, ſatisfied the prince that this reconciliation was pretended. Abandoned by the court of Oude and finding he had nothing to expect from the Engliſh government, Mirza Juwaun Bukht now directed his whole attention toward raiſing an army *. Himmut Behadur, the Ghoſſien, and ſome other chiefs, having offered their ſervices on this occaſion, invited the prince to a conference on the plains of Bindrabund, in the neighbourhood of Agrah. By their aſſiſtance, he, in a ſhort time, aſſembled a conſiderable force, and being at the ſame time joined by the Mogul chief, Iſmaeel Beg, the prince took the road to Delhi.

At the cloſe of the current year he arrived in the neighbourhood of the city, where he was met by his family and his brother, the

* It was at this time he wrote the letter, which appears in the appendix, No. 3.

prince Akbar Shah. The next morning he made his entry into the capital in great ſtate, when Shah-Aulum, by the warmth of his embraces, teſtified the joy which he experienced on the return of the heir apparent after ſo long and diſtreſſing an abſence. The prince was immediately inveſted with the ſole management of affairs; and there once more ſeemed a proſpect of relief from that vexation which the royal family had for a ſeries of years undergone. The Marhatta uſurpation was overthrown, and the rebellious chief of Sehaurunpore had lately made ample ſubmiſſion: appearances ſo flattering were, however, by the machinations of an ungrateful and wicked man too ſoon overclouded. The Nazir, envious of the prince's authority, and conſtant in his attachment to the turbulent Gholaum Cadir, ſet at work every engine to ſow diſſention in the royal family, and alienate the king's mind from his ſon.

Some days after the prince's arrival, the Nazir, in concert with other lords whom he had gained over to his party, demanded in full Durbar the payment of certain arrears, which he alleged to be due to the troops from the royal treaſury. The funds being at that time inſufficient, he well knew this demand would embarraſs the prince; but, contrary to expectation, the prince, with much ſpirit, appealed to his father, and declared that as the aſſignments for thoſe arrears were given during the Nazir's adminiſtration, he alone ought to be held reſponſible for their liquidation. To this opinion the king not only aſſented, but in ſevere terms commanded the Nazir to deſiſt. Though baffled in a firſt attempt, the Nazir was firmly reſolved to try a ſecond; in which, much to the diſcredit of Shah-Aulum, he was but too ſucceſsful. Secure in the confidence of his ſovereign,

which he ſo ſhamefully abuſed, he had the audacity to inſinuate to the king ſuſpicions of the prince's loyalty. On this occaſion, he obſerved to his majeſty, that the high pitch of authority to which he had elevated his ſon, would no doubt inſpire him with the deſign of riſing ſtill higher; and that as the king was now rapidly advancing in years, and conſequently incapable of vigorous exertion, the proſpect of aſcending the throne of Hindoſtaun was too ſeducing to be paſſed over by a perſon even leſs ambitious than his ſon: that his late efforts crowned with ſucceſs, and being at the head of an army, gave him entire and uncontrouled authority; and theſe advantages were, when opportunity offered, powerful inducements, as well as fit inſtruments, for the completion of his moſt aſpiring views.

Theſe inſinuations, however unworthy, made a deep impreſſion upon a mind debilitated by age, and obſcured in its intellectual vigor and energy by a long ſeries of deſpondency and misfortune. The audacious preſumption of the intereſted ſervant was forgotten, and an eye of ſuſpicion caſt upon the ſervices of a faithful and hitherto-beloved ſon.

The effects of the Nazir's treachery ſoon became apparent.—Mirza Juwaun Bukht, who, ſince his return, had beſtowed unremitting attention to the re-eſtabliſhment of good order and tranquillity at the capital, now ſolicited the king's permiſſion to take the command of the army, and at the ſame time for his majeſty to accompany it in perſon during its progreſs. He pointed out the propriety and good effect that might be expected from his majeſty's making a circuit through the Doo Ab, which, he judiciouſly ob-

ſerved, would contribute much to calm the minds of the people, agitated as they had been during the late troubles; and give additional conſequence to his majeſty's authority, now re-eſtabliſhed under ſuch happy auſpices.

This propoſal, however ſalutary and wiſe, was, to the aſtoniſhment of the prince, rejected by his father with the moſt frigid indifference. He now too plainly perceived that ſome ſecret machinations had been ſet on foot to inſtill into the king's mind the moſt baſe and unjuſt ſuſpicions; and therefore, diſdaining to remain at court, where he was treated ſo unworthily, he determined to remove to a diſtance, in hopes that time and abſence would contribute to efface ſuch impreſſions from his father's mind. Having obtained the king's permiſſion to repair to Agrah, of which place he had lately been appointed governor, the prince, accompanied by his whole family and a ſmall eſcort, quitted the court, to which he never more returned.

Iſmaeel Beg, who was at that time beſieging Agrah, at firſt received the prince with the utmoſt reſpect and ſubmiſſion: but his ſubſequent conduct evinced, that in his heart this ungrateful chief was actuated by ſentiments far different from the loyalty and fidelity due to his ſovereign; and perceiving the untoward ſtate of his affairs, he looked only to the preſervation of his own conſequence. The prince, compelled by urgent neceſſity and the very low ſtate of his finances, requeſted of Iſmaeel Beg to adjuſt the affairs of the province, and to make over to him a ſuitable aſſignment for the ſupport of the ſmall force which had accompanied him from Delhi, and

who, from long arrears, had become clamorous for pay. The Mogul chief lent a deaf ear to his ſolicitations; and inflamed with pride, accompanied his refuſal with diſreſpectful language to the prince. Diſguſted at this treatment from a diſobedient ſubject, Mirza Juwaun Bukht quitted Agrah, and repaired to the camp of Gholaum Cadir Khan, who was then in the neighbourhood of Deig: but meeting with ſimilar treatment from that chief, and likewiſe narrowly eſcaping from a treacherous plot laid to entrap his perſon by the perfidious Rohilla, the prince now for ever relinquiſhed all hope of re-inſtating himſelf in his authority. As a laſt mark of attachment and affection to his friends, he diſpoſed of ſuch effects as remained from the wreck of his fortunes, which he divided equally among them; after which, attended only by his family and a few ſelect adherents, with an aching heart he once more took the road to Benares, and repaired to his former aſylum among the Engliſh. The generoſity of that nation again received him, and confirmed to him his former allowances under diſpoſal of Mr. Duncan, the Britiſh reſident. To follow his eventful life to its cloſe, it is only neceſſary to remark, that after ſome months reſidence at that place, he terminated both his life and misfortunes. The circumſtances which attended his death are particular *. About the middle of September of the current year, he paid a viſit to the ſhrine of a Mahomedan ſaint at the fortreſs of Chunar; and on his return appeared much exhauſted by the fatigues of the day and an intenſe hot ſun. Towards midnight he grew worſe; and though every aſſiſtance was afforded him, both by his own and European phyſicians,

* MS. Narrative of Syud Rezzi Khan.

it proved of no avail. At the dawn of day he aroſe, and in great agitation proceeded to the apartments of his favourite concubine, where, on his arrival, he called for an infant child who was aſleep; but before the child could be brought, he was attacked with violent ſpaſms, and during a ſhort interval from pain, had juſt ſufficient time to dictate a letter to the Britiſh governor-general, recommending his family to the protection of the Engliſh nation, which being finiſhed, he expired quietly a few minutes after in the forty-eighth year of his age. His remains were interred with every ſuitable attention and honours due to his high rank. Agreeably to his deſire, the penſion which had been allowed him was continued to his family.

Mirza Juwaun Bukht Jehaundar Shah, though from capacity not fitted for the buſy ſcenes of active life, nor poſſeſſing any talents for government, was nevertheleſs irreproachable in his private character, and deemed by all an accompliſhed gentleman. To his friends he was conſtant, and to his dependants humane and benevolent. His domeſtic qualities and filial piety have been already exhibited to the world by teſtimony the moſt reſpectable *: and in his diſpoſition he poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, that characterestic amiability, which ſucceſſive hiſtorians have unanimouſly attributed to the princes of the houſe of Timoor.

* See Mr. Haſtings' Letter from Lucknow, April 1784.

CHAP. X.

Arrival of RANAH KHAN *in the* DOO AB—*Affairs in the* JYPORE *Province—Spirited Conduct of* BEGUM SOMROO—*Occurrences* —ISMAEEL BEG *is defeated—Junction of that Chief with* GHOLAUM CADIR KHAN—*Their Intrigues—*SHAH-AULUM *is dethroned—Occurrences—Concluſion.*

SINDIAH, who, as related in the preceding pages, had retired after his defeat acroſs the river Chumbul, and waited for a reinforcement in the neighbourhood of Gualior. The new levies being arrived from Deccan at the commencement of the current year, he, at their head, entered the Doo Ab. The arrival of the Marhatta chief, while it encouraged the king to hope for relief from his diſtreſſes, at the ſame time, awakened the fears of the Mogul lords, who were well aware that their late conduct towards their ſovereign would not be paſſed over with impunity. They connected themſelves, therefore, by firmer bonds, and prepared to reſiſt the Marhatta arms.

Iſmaeel Beg ſtill lay before Agrah, but from the active vigilance of Lukwajee, the Marhatta general, he had hitherto made but ſlow progreſs in the ſiege of that place. During theſe tranſactions, affairs at court had aſſumed a different aſpect; Shah-Aulum quitting Delhi, marched his army into the province of Jynaghur. Pertaub

Sing, ruler of that country, in omitting to ſend to court the accuſtomed tribute, evinced his diſaffection to the royal cauſe, and excited the reſentment of the court. Pertaub Sing aſſembled his army on the frontiers, and appeared diſpoſed to reſiſt; but on the approach of the king's troops, he was, through the perſuaſion of Rajah Himmut Behadur, induced to offer terms of ſubmiſſion. The latter chief, who had great influence with the king, had the addreſs to oppoſe his anger, and by promiſing, on the part of Pertaub Sing, a conſiderable ſum in ready money, and a future increaſe of the tribute, he prevailed on his majeſty to pardon his diſaffection. As the king's neceſſities were then very great, theſe conceſſions were accepted without difficulty, and, to complete the reconciliation, the Jynaghur prince was introduced into the royal camp, cloathed in a ſplendid khillut, and, afterwards, in an honourable manner, diſmiſſed to his own capital.

Theſe matters being arranged, Shah-Aulum proceeded on his route, and on his march continued to receive the ſubmiſſion of various inferior Zemindars, who, from their remote ſituation, had been enabled to withhold payment of the revenues, and, for a ſeries of years, to bid defiance to the court with impunity. One diſcontented chief alone ſtill withheld his allegiance; Nujuff Cooli Khan, who, it may be remembered, took an active part during the adminiſtration of the late Afraſiab Khan, was at this time in poſſeſſion of the ſtrong fort of Gocul Ghur. When ſummoned to ſurrender himſelf to Shah-Aulum, he peremptorily refuſed ſubmiſſion, and prepared himſelf for a vigorous reſiſtance. Prior to the commencement of hoſtilities, an effort was made through the influence of the

Nazir to effect an amicable accommodation; by his advice, Nujuff Cooli Khan offered, if his majesty would condescend to confer upon him the vacant office of Ameer Al Omrah, to which, from his birth and connections, he deemed himself entitled, he would with all humility, not only immediately deliver up the fort of Gocul Ghur, but, moreover, forward to court a Paishcush of six lacks of rupees; he concluded his proposal by observing, that such a mark of the royal favour was the only means of preserving him from the resentment of his numerous and inveterate enemies who were bent on his total overthrow. These proposals were laid before a council assembled at that time, and the king, from a desire of preserving peace, would have acceded to the terms prescribed, but some leading men in the council inclined his majesty to other measures; they represented Nujuff Cooli Khan as a man void of honour or principle, whose present proposals were only a cover to designs of a more ambitious nature, and dictated by the most insidious policy, that, when once firmly established in the high office of Ameer Al Omrah, and beyond the power of controul, he would then treat his sovereign with his accustomed insolence and disrespect; they therefore urged his speedy chastisement. Swayed by these councils, the king, having first dismissed the messenger of Nujuff Cooli Khan, commanded an immediate investiture of the fort. The royal army at this time was composed of several battalions of Nejeebs, the body guard, called the red battalion; a very considerable body of Mogul horse; and three disciplined battalions of Sepoys, which had belonged to the late Somroo, and were then commanded by his Begum in person, and furnished with a respectable artillery, served by European cannoneers. The head-quarters of Nujuff Cooli Khan were

at a village about one mile diſtant from the fort. The remainder of his force, under the command of Munſoor Khan, were ſtationed in Gocul Ghur. The rebel entrenchments being ſtrongly fortified, his majeſty directed Rajah Himmut Behadur and Shah Meer Khan, with a choſen detachment, to erect batteries againſt the village, and with the remainder of his army, he, in perſon, inveſted the fort of Gocul Ghur. The batteries of Himmut Behadur ſoon commenced a vigorous fire upon Nujuff Cooli Khan's intrenched poſt, but at the moment of making an evident impreſſion, an unfortunate accident occurred, which not only changed the face of affairs, but brought the king's perſon into the moſt imminent peril.

The officers who ſerved in the camp of Himmut Behadur, diſguſted at their abſence from their comrades in the grand army, and harraſſed by inceſſent duty in the trenches, forgot the danger of their ſituation, and abandoned themſelves to the moſt licentious exceſs; nor could all the admonition or threats of their commander prevail on them to deſiſt; they paſſed the whole night in riot and debauchery, and the ſoldiers availing themſelves of the pernicious example, indulged themſelves in ſimilar exceſs. Nujuff Cooli Khan, who was equally brave as vigilant, informed by his ſpies of what was tranſacting, reſolved to profit by the enemy's neglect and folly; having ſelected a ſtrong detachment of cavalry, he put himſelf at their head, and, marching in ſilence out of his entrenchment, he fell with great violence upon the royal troops as they lay buried in ſleep, and under the influence of their late debauch. A dreadful and indiſcriminate ſlaughter now took place, the lines were inſtantly carried, and a very large booty acquired by the ſoldiers of

Nujuff Cooli Khan. The terror excited by this extraordinary attack was ſo great, that the news being communicated to the main body of the king's army, they were thrown into diſorder, and began to prepare for flight; nor did the miſchief end there, for, to increaſe the diſmay, juſt at the moment the lines were carried, Munſoor Khan, who commanded in Gocul Ghur, by a preconcerted agreement with Nujuff Cooli Khan, iſſued out of the town with a ſtrong detachment, and four pieces of cannon. Having, by a circuitous route, reached the rear of the royal army, he commenced a very heavy fire from his artillery; the confuſion in camp now increaſed tenfold; every thing was uproar, diſorder, and diſmay. The king himſelf was, by this manœuvre, expoſed to the greateſt perſonal danger, and the royal tents being within range of the ſhot, many perſons about his majeſty were killed and wounded. In this diſtracted ſtate the king was adviſed to remove with the royal family, (there being at this time ſix princes in the camp) to the Herawul, or advanced guard of the army, which was without the range of the enemy's cannon. To that ſpot, on the firſt alarm, Shah Meer Khan had repaired, and was endeavouring by his preſence and example to animate and rally the flying troops. The king's tents were accordingly ſtruck, and Shah-Aulum, accompanied by his family, proceeded to the advanced guard. But the misfortune was now happily remedied by the magnanimity and gallantry of Begum Somroo. That ſpirited woman was encamped to the right of the line; her force remained entire, unaffected by the general panic, and ſtood ready in dreſſed ranks. On perceiving the extreme confuſion that reigned throughout the line, ſhe bravely reſolved, by a perſonal effort, to prevent the king's diſgrace; ſhe ſent a reſpectful

meſſage to his majeſty, deſiring him to repair to her quarters, and aſſured him of her determined reſolution to puniſh the rebel, or periſh in the attempt. At the ſame time, ſhe, on the field, wrote a ſhort note, which ſhe diſpatched to Nujuff Cooli Khan, upbraiding him with his ingratitude towards the king, and threatening him with immediate and exemplary chaſtiſement. The gallant lady * then getting into her palanquin, placed herſelf at the head of 100 of her own ſepoys, accompanied by a ſix pounder, commanded by an European officer. With this detachment ſhe proceeded to the ſpot occupied by Munſoor Khan, and advancing upon the rebel with much ſpirit, ſhe commanded her palanquin to be ſet down, and ordered her artillery to charge with grape ſhot; a well-directed fire from the gun, aſſiſted by vollies of ſmall arms from the ſepoys, ſoon had the deſired effect. Munſoor Khan, aſtoniſhed at this ſudden and unexpected check, began to give ground, and having loſt numbers of his men, he retreated with precipitation under the walls of the fort. The king's troops having now time to breathe, were rallied, under the direction of Himmut Behadur and Shah Meer Khan; moſt of them having rejoined their ſtandards, attacked the enemy in their turn with great ſpirit, when after a ſhort, but deſperate, conflict, Nujuff Cooli Khan was compelled to retire, but not before the gallant Shah Meer Khan had fallen, pierced by a muſket ball. His loſs was ſincerely and deſervedly regretted by the king and the whole army. Order being once more reſtored, the king directed his tents to be pitched, which done, he bethought of beſtowing a ſuitable reward to the gallant female who had preſerved him from imminent

* MS. narrative of Syud Rezzi Khan.

deſtruction. Having ſent for her to the Durbar, in the warmeſt terms he praiſed her gallantry, and thanked her for the ſervice ſhe had that day rendered him; he cloathed her in a magnificent veſt, and, in addition to her former titles, honoured her with the appellation of "his moſt beloved daughter." It was, indeed, by all acknowledged, that the intrepidity manifeſted by the Begum on ſo trying an occaſion, merited the moſt honourable reward; to her courage and reſolution was owing, not only the ſafety of the army, but her ſovereign's life.

Nujuff Cooli Khan, diſpirited by his late defeat, now condeſcended to talk in a more humble ſtrain, and being well acquainted with the influence of Begum Somroo at court, he endeavoured to avail himſelf of her good offices to plead his pardon with the king; he declared his ſincere contrition for his late intemperate conduct, and offered, as an atonement, a larger ſum of money than what he had before promiſed, with profeſſions of fidelity in future. The king, deſirous of repoſe from the fatigues of the field, was not unwilling to liſten to theſe ſolicitations, and in a few days a pardon was made out for the rebel chief, and he was received at court. The money agreed on having been paid into the royal treaſury, his majeſty returned with the army to Delhi.

We muſt now return to Iſmaeel Beg, who was ſtill employed on the ſiege of Agrah when he received the alarming intelligence of the approach of the Marhattas.

Sindiah, who as before obſerved, had re-entered the Doo Ab,

having, in the courſe of his route, recovered ſeveral fortreſſes under the Mogul chiefs, and reduced them to obedience, reſolved to hazard a general action for the recovery of his authority. For this purpoſe, he firſt ſent forward his favourite general, Ranah Khan, with 6000 ſelect cavalry, and brought up the remainder of his army in perſon; They advanced by eaſy marches towards the city of Agrah. Iſmaeel Beg, previous to their arrival, had ſtrengthened himſelf by engagements with Gholaum Caudir Khan, and if both parties had abided by the compact, it is probable their united force would have defeated the Marhatta army, and deſtroyed the hopes of Sindiah; but unfortunately for Iſmaeel Beg, his verſatile aſſociate, at this important criſis, deſerted him, and, actuated either by caprice or treacherous deſign, marched away with his whole force, juſt as the Marhatta army appeared in ſight. Thus abandoned, Iſmaeel Beg did not yield to the dictates of deſpondency or puſillanimous fear, but reſolving, by his own activity and courage to counterbalance the defection of his unworthy colleague; he prepared himſelf for battle on the 22d of Auguſt, in the current year, under the walls of Agrah; a deſperate action enſued, and ſo well was the palm of victory conteſted, that both parties ſuſtained a very heavy loſs, but fortune inclining to the Marhattas, Iſmaeel Beg was compelled to quit the field, and almoſt alone to croſs the river Jumna; he fled to the frontiers of the vizir's territory;—the whole of the camp equipage, treaſure, and artillery, fell into the hands of the conquerors; and Ranah Khan, on the enſuing morning, made a triumphant entry into Agrah; which ſurrendered, after ſuſtaining a ſiege of upwards of a year.

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This victory, the moſt complete that had been gained by the contending parties for many years, enſured the aſcendancy of the Marhatta authority; and had Ranah Khan availed himſelf of the general panic which it excited, he might have taken immediate poſſeſſion of Delhi. That ſtep would have entirely defeated the ambitious intrigues of the Mogul nobility, and prevented the degradation and diſgrace of the unfortunate Shah-Aulum. But previous to entering into this melancholy detail, it will be neceſſary to recur to the ſituation of the fugitive chief, Iſmaeel Beg, and of Gholaum Caudir Khan.

Scarcely had the latter chief quitted his aſſociate, when he repented of his perfidy, and would have returned to his aſſiſtance, but it was too late; he learnt the news of his total defeat by Ranah Khan, and finding his force inſufficient to make head againſt the Marhattas, he deemed it for the preſent more prudent to decline a conteſt.—Quitting the neighbourhood of Agrah, he ſuddenly appeared before the fort of Ali Ghur, a place then garriſoned by Sindiah's troops;—by a vigorous aſſault he carried the fort, and obtained a conſiderable booty; after leaving a body of his own men in the place, he took the road to Delhi.

It was at this period Gholaum Caudir firſt formed his reſolution to ſtrike a deciſive blow; he ſaw the ſupineneſs of the Marhatta army, and the defenceleſs ſtate of the capital, and being totally void of principle, and heedleſs of conſequences, he formed and executed the bold deſign of plundering the imperial palace, and dethroning his ſovereign. In order to facilitate the accompliſhment

of his plan, he previouſly ſent letters to his former colleague, Iſmaeel Beg, in which, after many apologies for his late behaviour towards that chief, he faithfully promiſed for the future to ſhare his fortunes. To excite his compliance, he laid open the propoſed method of accompliſhing this daring enterprize, and tempted his avaricious ſpirit with the hopes of rioting in the hidden wealth and treaſures which were ſaid to be depoſited within the royal palace. To theſe propoſals, however nefarious, Iſmaeel Beg, though at the expence of his honour, ſcrupled not to yield a ready aſſent. He accordingly quitted the place of his retirement, and ſhortly after arrived in the camp of Gholaum Caudir. He was received with every mark of cordiality and reſpect, and the two chiefs, after making a ſuitable arrangement of their force, commenced their march towards the capital.

A Marhatta garriſon, under the command of Himmut Behadur, ſtill occupied the fort and city of Delhi. Budel Beg Khan, Soleimaun Beg, and other lords, were alſo at this time about the king. The conſpirators, on their arrival at the eaſtern bank of the river Jumna, oppoſite to the palace, diſpatched a meſſenger to court, demanding, in inſolent and threatening terms, an immediate admiſſion to the royal preſence. Shah-Aulum, who was well acquainted with the perfidious diſpoſitions of theſe chiefs, reſolutely refuſed them entrance, and relying on the fidelity and attachment of his nobles, hoped, by their exertions, to defeat the traitors' machinations.—But, alas, how miſerably was the unfortunate prince deceived! Thoſe very men, inſtigated by the deteſted policy of the Nazir, entered cloſely into the views of the rebel chiefs, and, forgetful of

the confidence and beneficent attention of their king, during a ſeries of thirty years, they heſitated not to abandon him in the hour of his diſtreſs. To this defection was added, likewiſe, that of Rajah Himmut Behadur, who, by a diſgraceful and precipitate retreat from his poſt, ſullied his reputation as a ſoldier, and his loyalty as a ſubject.

Shah-Aulum was thus left in a defenceleſs ſtate; and every obſtacle being removed, Gholaum Cadir Khan and his wicked aſſociate proceeded to the perpetration of their atrocious deſign. Two thouſand Rohillas accompanied the traitors: on their arrival at the palace, they were met by the Nazir, who introduced them into the king's preſence. Gholaum Caudir and Iſmaeel Beg, placing themſelves on each ſide the throne, performed the cuſtomary reverence. Gholaum Caudir then repreſented to his majeſty, that, forced by the machinations of his enemies, who had ſlandered his reputation by calumnious charges, he had come to vindicate himſelf in the preſence.

Shah-Aulum, in reply, declared himſelf ſatisfied with the conduct of Gholaum Cadir in every point of view; and in teſtimony of his eſteem, embraced the traitor. It was then hinted to the king, that the hour for his uſual repaſt being arrived, it would be proper for his majeſty to retire into the Haram. On his majeſty's departure, the chiefs, who remained in the audience chamber, entered into cloſe debate on the execution of their plot. Agreeably to the advice of the Nazir, the treaſurer of the houſehold, Seetul Doſs, was directed to repair to the king, and acquaint him of the neceſſity which exiſted of a prince of the royal family being immediately

appointed to attend the army in a progreſs through the provinces; that Gholaum Caudir would charge himſelf with the conduct of the war againſt the Marhattas; and that, as a pledge for his own honour and ſafety, the command of the citadel and garriſon ſhould be immediately delivered up to ſuch perſons as he might chooſe to nominate. In order, however, to quiet the king's apprehenſions, and evince the ſincerity of his own intentions, the crafty Rohilla with his own hand framed a treaty, in which, as a return for the confidence that was repoſed in him, the traitor ſolemnly ſwore to defend the perſon and intereſts of the king againſt all oppoſition.

The treaty being properly ſigned, Seetul Doſs carried it to the outward incloſure of the Haram, where it was delivered to an attendant, who conveyed it to his majeſty. The king having peruſed it, the treaſurer was called in. That nobleman, faithful to his king, frankly told him that no reliance could be placed on the notorious perfidy of the Rohilla chief. He mentioned the cabals of the rebels in terms ſorrowful and indignant; and, as a teſtimony of his own loyalty, he offered to return and put Gholaum Cadir Khan to inſtant death. To induce a compliance with his requeſt, the treaſurer urged that there was ſtill a ſufficient force within the palace to ſupport the act, and expel the traitor's troops. But the king, by ſome unaccountable infatuation, refuſed his ſanction to the deed, though it was the only probable means of extricating himſelf from his perilous ſituation. He rejected the propoſal, and directed the treaſurer to return to the rebels, and acquaint them with his acquieſcence to the terms of the treaty.

Meanwhile great numbers of the Rohillas who had entered the palace, penetrated in a tumultuous and diſorderly manner into every part; nor was any ſteps taken by their chiefs to repel the outrages they committed. Shah-Aulum, informed of the circumſtance, came forth from the Haram, and going to the audience chamber, requeſted of Gholaum Cadir that he would, after placing the proper centinels within the fort, order the remainder of his troops to withdraw. The traitor profeſſed obedience; but had no ſooner reached the outer gate of the fort, than, inſtead of making the propoſed arrangement, he gave the ſignal for the remainder of his guards to enter, which they inſtantly did; and in a few moments, the fort and palace, as well as the adjoining fort of Selim Ghur, were in poſſeſſion of the rebels.

The king's guards were now diſarmed, and their officers put into cloſe confinement. This additional inſult being reported to the king, he directed an attendant to go to Gholaum Cadir, and in ſtrong terms to remonſtrate and reproach him for his conduct.—"The ink*," ſaid the unhappy monarch, "with which the ſolemn "treaty was written is ſcarce yet dry, when he breaks his faith." The remonſtrance proved of no avail; for the rebel having confined every perſon who might be able to aſſiſt the king, proceeded to the perpetration of additional indignities. Entering armed into the audience chamber, he inſolently demanded aſſignments for the payment of his troops, who were then clamorous for their arrears. The king in vain pleaded his total inability to afford any relief, but told the rebel to ſeize upon whatever he thought proper within the pre-

* MS. narrative of Syud Rezzi Khan.

cincts of the palace. After much altercation, and a disgraceful scene, the unfortunate Shah-Aulum was permitted to return to his Haram, to ruminate on his miserable and degraded state.

The plan now approached its termination. Early on the ensuing morning, the rebels in concert, at the head of a numerous band of followers, well armed, entered the audience chamber where Shah-Aulum was sitting. Completely surrounding the throne, they sternly commanded the princes of the royal family who were present to retire within the Haram.—They obeyed.—Gholaum Caudir then dispatched a messenger to the fort of Selim Ghur, which is contiguous to the palace, to bring forth Beedar Shah, a son of the late emperor Ahumud Shah. The traitor then approached the throne, and took up the shield and scymetar, which, as emblems of royalty, were placed on a cushion before the king: these he consigned to the hands of an attendant, and turning towards Shah-Aulum, sternly commanded him to descend; "Better, said the aged monarch; far better will it be for Gholaum Caudir to plunge his dagger in my bosom, than load me with such indignity;" the Rohilla, frowning, put his hand to his sword, but the Nazir at the instant, stepping up, prevented him from drawing it. With unblushing effrontery he then turned towards his sovereign, and audaciously told him, that resistance being vain, he would do well to comply with the traitor's demand. Abandoned by all, the king then rose from his seat and retired to the Haram, and a few minutes after Beedar Shah made his appearance;—he was saluted by the rebels as emperor of Hindostaun, under the title of Jehaun Shah, and the customary Nazirs having been presented, the event was proclaimed

to the citizens of Delhi by the ſound of trumpets and the acclamations of the populace.

In return for theſe important ſervices, the new king delivered to Gholaum Caudir an order upon the revenues for thirty-ſix lacks of rupees, a grant in appearance conſiderable, but, in fact, of no real value, as the diſtracted ſtate of the country, occaſioned by the late diſturbances, had totally dried up every ſource of revenue or emolument, and the uſurper, though declared ſole manager of affairs, could hope to procure wealth only by extortion. The family of the dethroned king were now directed to retire within the fort of Selim Ghur, and thoſe of Jehaun Shah to occupy their apartments in the palace. Jehaun Shah, however, too ſoon found himſelf an idle pageant in the hands of his pretended friends. On applying to Gholaum Caudir to accompany him on a viſit to the great cathedral, to receive the royal inveſtiture with the accuſtomed ſolemnity in the eyes of the people, the tyrant anſwered, that the time proper for ſuch ceremony was not yet come, and that buſineſs of greater moment firſt demanded his attention; in the mean time great diſtreſs prevailed within the walls of the Haram, and the cries of females were heard aloud.

The next ſtep taken by the rebellious chiefs, was to ſend a party of ſoldiers to the palace of the two aged princeſſes, Maleka Zimani, and Sahiba Mahâl. Theſe ladies were the widows of the deceaſed emperor Mahmud Shah, and had, for more than twenty years, lived in a manner entirely ſecluded from the world. As they were known, not only to be very rich, but to poſſeſs conſiderable influence over

the royal family, they were now ordered to court, and, on their arrival, directed to viſit the Haram, and perſuade the females there confined, quietly to deliver up their jewels and valuable effects. The office was invidious.

Some perſons in Delhi have not ſcrupled to affirm, that the princeſſes refuſed compliance with the order, and pleaded their advanced age and high rank as reaſons for declining the office; but, on the other hand, they are accuſed of having encouraged the uſurper, and to have endeavoured, by intrigue, to form a ſecret treaty to raiſe to the throne a relation of their own. Certain it is they viſited the Haram, but without the ſucceſs expected, and on their return, declined farther interference; this conduct contributed only to exaſperate the tyrant. With inhuman rapacity he cauſed thoſe venerable ladies to be robbed of all their property, which the benevolence of their emperor, in more proſperous days, had beſtowed upon them, and they were afterwards commanded to retire to their own habitation.

The thirty-ſix lacks of rupees, as before ſtated, not coming into the treaſury, Gholaum Caudir inſolently threatened the new king with his ſevere diſpleaſure, and added, in terms ſarcaſtically poignant, that as he had elevated him to his preſent dignity, he could, with equal facility, deprive him of it. Perceiving the tyrant's drift, Jehaun Shah retired into the Haram, and having, partly by menaces and alternate ſoothings, conſtrained the unhappy women to deliver up their jewels and ornaments, and other valuables, he ſent them in trays to Gholaum Caudir. The royal family were, by

this means, reduced to great diſtreſs; the cries within the Haram became much louder, and their ſufferings more acute; and with ſorrow we relate, that to ſo high a pitch was it carried, that ſome of the inferior order of females actually periſhed for want, or urged by the bitterneſs of deſpair, raiſed their hands againſt their own lives. Inſenſible to the general diſtreſs, and unſatiated with plunder, Gholaum Caudir Khan finding he had nothing more to expect from the new king, proceeded to the laſt act of wanton cruelty. He ſent for the dethroned king and all the princes of the royal family to the audience chamber; on their arrival, he ſternly commanded Shah-Aulum to diſcover his concealed treaſures; in vain did the king plead his degraded ſtate, and the conſequent inability to conceal even the ſmalleſt article. Inflamed by a continual debauch, which had thrown him into a paroxyſm of rage, the tyrant threatened his ſovereign with inſtant loſs of ſight; What! exclaimed the ſuffering prince, (we quote the literal expreſſions of a native author*) "What! will you deſtroy thoſe eyes, which for a period of ſixty years have been aſſiduouſly employed in peruſing the ſacred Koran?"

Regardleſs of the pathetic appeal, the Rohilla, with characteriſtic inhumanity, commanded his attendants to ſeize the king. Having thrown him on the floor, the ferocious ruffian implanting himſelf on his boſom, transfixed with a poignard the eyes of his venerable ſovereign! on the completion of this horrid deed, Gholaum Caudir ordered the king to be removed to a diſtant apartment. The miſerable Shah-Aulum, pale and bleeding, was conducted to his retreat;

* MS. of Syud Rezzi Khan.

there, in all the bitterneſs of anguiſh, to contemplate on his now ruined fortunes. Emphatic, indeed, were the expreſſions of the ſame native author in relating the fallen condition of his ſovereign; "This wretch," (exclaims the indignant hiſtorian) "this accurſed wretch, has, in one fatal moment, darkened the bright ſtar of the auguſt Timoorian family, and buried in the whirlpool of deſtruction the ſtately veſſel of imperial authority!" The king, however evinced, under ſuch accumulated misfortunes, a firmneſs of mind, and reſignation highly honourable in his character; and it may not be unworthy to remark, that the natives of Aſia in general, probably from the principles of predeſtination which they imbibe from their youth, are obſerved to ſuſtain themſelves under misfortune, in a manner worthy of imitation by the European chriſtian.

Shah-Aulum ſurviving the loſs of his ſight during his confinement, ſolaced himſelf in contemplative reveries, and in compoſing elegiac verſes, deſcriptive of his deplorable ſtate*.

But from ſuch heart-rending ſcenes, let us haſten to relate the remaining actions of this execrable monſter. His next victim was the infamous Nazir. This man, through whoſe diſloyalty and ingratitude Gholaum Caudir had been enabled to perpetrate his atrocities, now moſt deſervedly experienced the effects of his perfidious conduct. He was directed by the tyrant to give in an inventory of his property and effects, and on refuſing to comply, he was ſeized and put into cloſe confinement, when his ill-gotten wealth

* MS. narrative of Syud Rezzi Khan. See the appendix, No. 4.

was forcibly taken from him, thus exhibiting to the world an exemplary inſtance of retributive juſtice for his demerits.

As Gholaum Caudir's wealth accumulated, his avarice roſe to a proportionate degree; and blind to the impolicy of ſuch a ſtep, he refuſed to make an equal diviſion of the ſpoil with his guilty aſſociate. Iſmaeel Beg, incenſed at this treatment, reſolved to abandon him. He accordingly withdrew his guards from the palace, and retired to his own houſe. From thence he diſpatched letters to the Marhatta general, acknowledging his errors, and offering to atone for them by profeſſions of future obedience and fidelity, and declaring his readineſs to join the Marhattas in any meaſures toward the tyrant's expulſion.

The ſupineneſs of the Marhatta government during the late diſgraceful tranſactions, has been deſervedly reprobated, and is difficult to be accounted for on any principle of policy or advantage to the ſtate. Indeed, the unhappy monarch, from a ſtrange combination of circumſtances, ſeems to have been forſaken by all his friends when he moſt needed their aſſiſtance; and it is much to be regretted that the ſtate of Britiſh politics at that time did not admit of interference on the part of his old and, till now, faithful allies.

Sindiah, when informed of the late tragical events, ordered his general, Ranah Khan, to march forthwith to Delhi, expel the traitor, and liberate Shah-Aulum from his confinement. Theſe orders were obeyed with a willing alacrity on the part of Ranah Khan; and he exerted himſelf with ſo much diligence, that the van of the Ma-

rhatta army was in ſight of the capital, when Gholaum Caudir Khan, awakened from his dream of riot and intemperance, received the firſt tidings of the enemy's approach. Finding his ſituation in the imperial palace to be untenable, he prepared for flight; but previous to his departure, he collected the plunder, and taking the new king along with him, with all the princes of the royal family, together with the infamous Nazir, he quitted the fort by a private paſſage, and croſſing the river Jumna, effected his retreat to Meerut, a town in the centre of the Doo Ab, and diſtant about ſixty miles from Delhi.

On the flight of Gholaum Caudir, the Marhatta general advanced, and took poſſeſſion of the city and palace. His firſt care was to releaſe the dethroned king, cauſe him to be proclaimed in Delhi, and furniſh him with every thing neceſſary for his convenience or comfort. Ranah Khan having then placed a ſtrong garriſon in the citadel, immediately ſet out in purſuit of the rebel chief. Previous, however, to that ſtep, he, by order of Sindiah, afforded Iſmaeel Beg a liberal ſupply of money for the payment of his diſcontented ſoldiers; and directed that chief to proceed to the diſtricts of Rewari and Gocul Ghur, whence he was commanded to expel Nujuff Cooli Khan, who had beheld with indifference the late enormities at Delhi.

Theſe arrangements being finiſhed, Ranah Khan croſſed the Jumna. On his ſecond day's march, he was joined by a Marhatta chief, named Ali Behadur, who had for ſome time paſt been em-

ployed in Bundelcund*, and now brought with him a body of 4000 horſe in ſupport of the general cauſe. The united force then proceeded to Meerut, which was garriſoned by a ſtrong force of Rohillas, who ſtill adhered to the tyrant's cauſe. Ranah Khan, not having any heavy artillery, was prevented from forming a regular ſiege; he therefore drew a line of circumvalation around, and blockaded the fort. This mode would, he apprehended, compel the garriſon to a ſurrender, by the ſupplies from without being completely cut off: nor was he deceived in the expectation; for a dearth of proviſions enſuing, the Rohillas began to ſuſtain great inconvenience. Gholaum Caudir endeavoured, by repeated ſallies, to animate his troops, and repel the beſiegers. In every encounter the intrepid chief exhibited a gallantry and reſolution that would have done honour to a better cauſe. But finding all his efforts fruitleſs, and the garriſon having now become mutinous, he determined to attempt an eſcape.

Attended by 500 horſe, who were ſtill attached to him, he, at their head, ruſhed out of the fort, and charged the enemy ſo vigorouſly, that though every endeavour was exerted to take him priſoner, he made his way through the whole line, and accompliſhed his eſcape. But, at length, his own troops perceiving his forlorn condition, began by degrees to drop off; ſo that in a ſhort time he was left quite alone; and, to complete his miſhap, his horſe, exhauſted by fatigue, ſunk under him, and he received in the fall a ſevere contuſion. This accident compelled him to take refuge in an

* A province to the ſouth-weſt of Allahabad.

adjoining village, where, being recogniſed by the Zemindar of the place, he was ſeized, and put into confinement. Information of this circumſtance having been conveyed to Ali Behadur, that chief ſent a party of horſe, who conducted him into the Marhatta camp. On the rebel's flight from Meerut, the garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. Their lives were ſpared, and the princes of the royal family were releaſed from their confinement, and under an honourable eſcort conveyed to Delhi. On their arrival, Jehaun Shah, after ſuffering ſeverely for his ſhort-lived elevation, was remanded back to his former abode in the fort of Selim Ghur.

On the reduction of Meerut, Ranah Khan led his army to Sehaurunpore, which place, on hearing the fate of Gholaum Caudir, ſubmitted to the Marhatta authority, who, from that time, have remained undiſturbed maſters of the whole province.

Soon after this event, Ranah Khan with the army returned to Delhi, where by this time the Maharajah Sindiah was likewiſe arrived, and had reſumed his former authority in the ſtate. The puniſhment of the rebel was too remarkable to be paſſed over in ſilence; nor did his guilty aſſociate, the Nazir, eſcape the juſt vengeance of his inſulted ſovereign.

Gholaum Caudir, on his arrival in the Marhatta camp, was carried into the preſence of the general; when, after repeated demands to diſcover the place where he had depoſited the plunder of the palace, on his refuſing to comply, he was delivered over to a puniſhment terrible indeed. He was firſt placed in an iron cage, conſtructed for

the occaſion, and in this ſituation was ſuſpended in front of the army. After ſuſtaining the inſults and indignities of the ſoldiers, his noſe, ears, hands, and feet, were cut off; and in this mutilated and miſerable condition he was, by order of Ali Behadur, ſent off to Delhi; but, on the journey, death relieved the miſerable wretch from his ſufferings: thus dreadfully atoning for the crimes of his ſavage and abandoned life!—The Nazir, on his arrival at Delhi, was trodden to death under the feet of an elephant.

The melancholy events paſſing ſo rapidly in review, whilſt relating the tranſactions of an Aſiatic Durbar, can afford to a benevolent mind little to contemplate with pleaſure or attention: but the picture, however diſguſting, may notwithſtanding be viewed to advantage. A Britiſh reader might, on this review, direct his inſpection inwards; and while he execrates the inſatiate ſpirit and deteſtable ambition which can thus actuate men to the commiſſion of ſuch enormities, he may place before his fatigued mind the more pleaſing contraſt of the ſituation and invaluable bleſſings of his native land—bleſſings, which teach him more highly to value and to venerate that happy conſtitution, which is founded upon an immutable and immortal principle, that a Britiſh ſovereign can do no wrong.

Soon after the arrival of the Marhatta army, Sindiah appointed a day for re-inſtating the depoſed king on the throne of his anceſtors; and the ceremony was performed in the grand hall of audience with much pomp and ſolemnity. An allowance was, moreover, aſſigned to his majeſty of nine lacks of rupees per annum for the ſupport of

his family and houſehold, the ſuperintendance of which was committed to Shah Nizam Al Deen, a dependant on the Marhatta chief *.

After the terrible puniſhment of Gholaum Caudir Khan, the order of our narrative leads to the ſituation of Iſmaeel Beg. That nobleman, as already obſerved, had been detached by order of Sindiah to reduce Nujuff Cooli Khan, at that time in the neighbourhood of Rewari. On his arrival in the diſtrict, Iſmaeel Beg was informed of the death of his antagoniſt, whoſe troops were then under the command of his widow, a woman of maſculine ſpirit and unbounded ambition. Well acquainted with the active bravery of Iſmaeel

* Whatever might have been the real intentions of Sindiah when he made this grant, in appearance ſo liberal, it cannot be denied but his kindneſs failed of effect; and it may be affirmed with juſtice, that from the character which this chief originally aſſumed of protector of the injured rights of the Great Mogul, he, in fact, became the oppreſſor. Intent only on his own aggrandiſement, and in effectuating his plans at the Poonah Durbar, the Marhatta chief detained the unhappy king in an apparently-honourable, but really miſerable, confinement; and during his own abſence, he delegated his power to a crafty and deſigning dependant, who permitted the king and his family to want the common neceſſaries of life: a circumſtance which inflicts indelible diſgrace on Sindiah's memory. This aſſertion would appear overſtrained, and the circumſtance, perhaps, too highly coloured, were it not notorious to all Delhi, that out of the above ſum allotted in jaghire for the king's maintenance, he has ſeldom received more than 50,000 rupees per annum, and that frequently ill paid. To be convinced of the truth of this fact, the author, when at Delhi, made particular inquiry, and was aſſured by a nobleman of the court, Syud Rezzi Khan, Colonel Palmer's Vakeel, that is was an actual fact.—This nobleman reſides at the capital on the part of the Engliſh Ambaſſador, as well as that of the vizir, Aſuf Al Dowla, for the purpoſe of diſburſing to his majeſty the ſum of two thouſand rupees per month for his privy purſe, (which is termed Zuri Khaſs;) and this money, together with a few trifling preſents received when perſons are preſented at court, is all the lineal deſcendant of Timoor obtains for the ſupport of himſelf and his thirty children, reſiding within the precincts of the imperial palace.

Beg, the Begum propoſed to him a coalition of intereſts; and, to excite his hopes of ſucceſs in a reſiſtance to the Marhatta authority, ſhe proffered him the forces and treaſures of her deceaſed lord. The natural and hereditary averſion entertained by Iſmaeel Beg againſt the Marhatta nation, inclined him, without much reflection, to accede to theſe propoſals. He accordingly marched his own force to the town of Canoor, the place where the Begum then reſided, and which was actually beſieged by the Marhattas.

Notwithſtanding every exertion on the part of the enemy, he threw himſelf into the place, and endeavoured by repeated and ſpirited ſallies to prevent its fall. Unfortunately, in one of thoſe encounters, the Begum herſelf, who with a gallantry and ſpirit not uncommon among the females of Hindoſtaun were accuſtomed to be preſent in action, was ſlain by a cannon ball. This misfortune occaſioned a defection in her troops to their obedience of Iſmaeel Beg, and which had, during her life time, been kept within proper bounds. The principal leaders entering into a cabal againſt the Mogul chief, agreed to deliver him up to the Marhattas, with whom they had commenced a negotiation. But however ſecretly the treaty, on this occaſion, was made, it ſoon reached the ears of Iſmaeel Beg; and, he, to prevent the effects of this treachery, was prevailed upon by his friends to a voluntary ſurrender, requeſting only a guarantee for his perſonal ſafety. This was readily granted him under the faith of General Duboigne, at that time of high command in the Marhatta army. Some few days after, Iſmaeel Beg entered the camp, from whence he was ſent off a priſoner to the fort of Agrah, in which ſtate he has ſince continued. While the Marhatta influence

obtains permanency at the court of Delhi, it is probable he will continue under reſtraint, as that politic and wary people will never ſuffer ſo active and intriguing a man to be enlarged. But ſhould any unforeſeen event, in the hazardous ſyſtem of the preſent politics, occaſion a decline, or extinction of their authority, there is little doubt but this active and vigilant partizan will again bear a conſpicuous ſhare in the revolutions.

Among the numerous adventurers who have for a ſeries of years emigrated from the regions of the north to the provinces of Hindoſtaun, few have poſſeſſed greater military talents than Iſmaeel Beg. Inured to arms at an early period of life under the tuition of his uncle, Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on ſeveral occaſions by his ſuperior valour and ability: and if, on a review of his character, we except the culpability juſtly attached to him for the ſhare he bore in the tranſactions of Gholaum Caudir, we muſt allow Iſmaeel Beg the merit of an active, gallant ſoldier; to which, by the unanimous voice of his contemporaries, may be added that of an accompliſhed man, generous in diſpoſition, and kind and liberal to his followers and dependants.

Of the fate of the remaining perſons who ſhared in the various revolutions recorded through this volume, the Begum Somroo deſerves notice. The fidelity exhibited by this ſpirited lady in defence of her ſovereign on various occaſions, merited a better return than that which ſhe was deſtined to experience. The chiefs in the Marhatta army had long beheld with jealous inquietude the influence ſhe had acquired with the king; and Sindiah himſelf appears not

to have been wholly free from this imputation: for, though he cannot be charged with giving directions to degrade the Begum from her dignity, his not taking immediate ſteps to make reparation for the affront, muſt appear to every unprejudiced mind highly to his diſcredit. On the other hand, it muſt, with equal impartiality, be confeſſed, that the conduct of this lady gave her enemies great advantage.

During the whole of her adminiſtration, until the period before us, ſhe, by prudence and a circumſpect conduct, governed her territory with honour and advantage. Her troops reſpected her valour, and her officers yielded a ready obedience to her authority. An unfortunate attachment, however, which ſhe formed for one of thoſe officers, occaſioned her ſevere vexation and diſtreſs; and inconſiſtently with her uſual prudence, ſhe had granted him her hand in marriage. Mr. Vaiſſaux, a German adventurer, was the perſon ſelected; who, though a man of abilities, and who had rendered eſſential ſervice to the Begum in the management of her artillery and other military concerns, was nevertheleſs of a haughty diſpoſition and ſtern manners, which, unfortunately for both, proved the ſource of a diſaſtrous event.

The Begum was ſtrongly diſſuaded from this ſtep by her friends, and by none more than the king, who, in this ill-fated marriage, ſcrupled not to predict the total downfall of her authority, a prediction too ſoon to be fulfilled. By the ſecret inſtigation of the Marhatta leaders, the chief officers and ſervants of the Begum entered into a conſpiracy, and reſolved on her depoſition.—

To give a ſanction to their proceedings in the eyes of the people, they invited the Nuwaub Zuffer Yâb Khan, ſon of the deceaſed Somroo, by a former wife, to accept of the government as his juſt inheritance. This young man, turbulent in manners, and of a worthleſs character, had received, through the bounty of the Begum, an ample allowance for his ſupport, ever ſince his father's death; but his conduct had given her ſuch diſguſt, that ſhe had forbidden his appearance at her own reſidence. He was living at Delhi when the offer of the conſpirators arrived; undiſturbed by any ſcruples of conſcience, and not impreſſed by any ſentiment of gratitude or affection, he accepted the offer with avidity, and repairing to the town of Sirdhauna, in private, he waited the event with impatience.

A few days ſubſequent to the Begum's marriage, ſhe prepared to accompany her huſband in a circuit through her Jaghire. They had ſcarcely quitted the town of Serdhauna, when a mutiny broke out among her own troops, and at the ſame inſtant, Zuffer Yâb Khan, who had been privately living in the town, now ruſhed forth with a body of Marhattas, ſeized on the town, and was proclaimed Jaghire Dar. Informed of this event, the Begum endeavoured, by the moſt ſtudied attention and cogent argument, to induce her troops to return to their allegiance, but in vain; long reſolved on their plan, they were heedleſs of her ſolicitations, and ſeized and confined both herſelf and huſband. This unfortunate man perceiving himſelf in the power of his enemies, and diſdaining ſubmiſſion, in a fit of deſperation put a period to his exiſtence; and the Begum was then

reconducted to her capital, only to behold the rebellion of her ſubjects, and the elevation of her ungenerous relative, to the Muſnud*.

After the ſettlement of the government at Delhi, Sindiah directed his attention to the ſubjugation of the different Rajpoot ſtates, who, during the late diſturbances and frequent revolutions, had become, in a great meaſure, independent of the court. In this arduous undertaking he was aſſiſted by the profeſſional abilities of an European officer of diſtinguiſhed eminence. Mr. Duboigne, a gentleman formerly in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company, had, of late years, upon advantageous offers being made to him, entered into that of Sindiah, and on many occaſions had contributed to the aſcendancy acquired by that prince over his competitors. Mr. Duboigne, whoſe acuteneſs and penetration enabled him to diſcern the vaſt ſuperiority which diſcipline obtains over irregular multitudes, and the advantages to be derived from the introduction of European tactics, propoſed to Sindiah to raiſe a body of troops, cloathed and diſciplined, as far as the local and religious prejudices would admit, after the model of the company's European troops. The propoſal

* Though by this outrage, deprived of her authority, the Begum paſſed not her time in unavailing lamentations; ſhe had many friends, and by their aſſiſtance, aided by the earneſt intreaties of the king, ſhe was, in the ſucceeding year, releaſed from her confinement, and once more, though with circumſcribed authority, put in poſſeſſion of her Jaghire, where it is the wiſh of every feeling mind ſhe may long continue. Her attention towards thoſe of our countrymen, who have occaſionally viſited her territories, has been moſt hoſpitable and unremitting, and among others, the author of this hiſtory is happy in having an opportunity of adding his teſtimony of eſteem for the kind offices afforded himſelf and his companions, during a fortnight's reſidence near her hoſpitable manſion.

was readily accepted on the part of the Marhatta chief, and Mr. Duboigne, who had been raiſed to the rank of general, prepared to carry it into effect.

In the courſe of the current year*, the firſt regular brigade ever attached to the Marhatta ſervice, was raiſed, cloathed, and appointed; it conſiſted of ten battalions of 750 men each, ſeven of which battalions were regulars, denominated by the natives, *Talingas*, cloathed and armed with muſket and bayonet, like the company's troops.—The three remaining battalions were Patans, armed with matchlocks of a new invention; their uniform made after the Perſian faſhion, and the whole brigade regulars, as well as matchlocks, were exerciſed by the manual word of command, as practiſed in European armies. To render the brigade more compact, 500 Mewattis, or irregular ſoldiers, were attached to perform the ordinary routine of camp duties, ſo that the troops might be ready, on all occaſions, for active ſervice—500 cavalry were attached to the brigade, and 60 pieces of well-mounted and well-ſerved artillery, from 3 to 6 and 9 pounders.

In the ſucceeding years of 1791-2-3, the ſecond and third brigades were gradually raiſed of nearly equal force, with the addition of 1000 Rohillas, for the expreſs purpoſe of leading the ſtorming parties.—The force thus raiſed amounted, in the whole, to 24,000

* The following detail was obligingly communicated to the author by General Duboigne himſelf, who is now in England, and to whom he begs leave to offer his very hearty acknowledgements.

men and 130 pieces of artillery, commanded by European officers of different nations, and directed by the enterprizing ſpirit and unremitted perſeverance of the general who raiſed them. Their ſucceſs on a variety of the moſt trying occaſions proved equal to their expectations, and Sindiah confeſſed his obligations to Mr. Duboigne, by repoſing in him a confidence almoſt unlimited, and by the ceſſion of fifty-two diſtricts in the Doo Ab, to be appropriated expreſsly as Jaiedad, for the maintenance of the troops he had raiſed. Aided by his exertions, he, in the period we have mentioned, not only recovered his former poſſeſſions, but in the end extended his influence to the Punjab frontier; by a rapid ſucceſſion of victories, he defeated the Nuwaub Iſmaeel Beg, Gholaum Caudir Khan, the countries of Oudepore and Joudpore, and Jynaghur; and though he could not abſolutely wreſt theſe dominions from the laſt-mentioned prince, he compelled him to the payment of an annual tribute.

Towards the middle of 1793, his affairs calling him to the weſt of India, he left Gopaul Row, his lieutenant-general, to manage his affairs in the north, and General Duboigne in the center of his newly-acquired poſſeſſions. His power may, at this period, be ſaid to have reached its meridian ſplendour; his arms again acquired an aſcendancy over his contemporaries, and he found himſelf the leader and preponderating chief of the whole Marhatta empire—from the confines of Lahore, to the ſea of Cambay; he poſſeſſed an authority almoſt unlimited; while the firmneſs, energy, and activity, which marked the features of his adminiſtration, at the ſame

time ſhed a bright luſtre on his character, in the minds of the princes of Hindoſtaun.

At the cloſe of 1793, Sindiah prepared for his return to the northward, with an intention, as it was ſuppoſed, of puſhing his arms againſt the Sieks; all looked forward to the future motions of this enterprizing chief in a ſtate of anxious ſuſpenſe; but while the different powers were either alarmed by the fear, or excited by the hope, of his appearance amongſt them, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a diſtemper, which termined his exiſtence at the age of 67.

His character has been already delineated by the record of his actions in the preceding pages; in concluſion it may be remarked, that from the inceſſant perſeverance with which he laboured to bring to maturity ſchemes once formed for his own aggrandizement; had his life been extended, he would, in all probability, have become a formidable antagoniſt to the intereſts of Great Britain; whoſe rulers were not unacquainted with his active ſpirit or inſatiable ambition. He was ſucceeded in his paternal dominions by his nephew, Dowlat Row, who has not as yet attained any pre-eminence among the princes in the Marhatta ſtates.

The few remaining years of the reign of Shah-Aulum can afford little on which to expatiate or digreſs. Reduced to dependence on a foreign power for the ſupport of himſelf and a numerous family, the duration of his life cannot materially alter his ſituation; the fate of his family, and eventual ſucceſſor, muſt remain to be recorded at a future period, but *his* reign may be more properly ſaid to cloſe

when he ſuſtained the fatal calamity before mentioned. Shah-Aulum, nominal Emperor of Hindoſtaun, is in his 75th year. His ſtature tall and commanding, his aſpect dignified and majeſtic. The ravages of time are diſcernible on his face, and the recollection of his misfortunes have impreſſed his features with melancholy. His early youth was paſſed in ſpirited, though ineffectual, ſtruggles, to reſtore the diminiſhed luſtre of imperial authority, and his conduct, whilſt contending againſt the uſurped power of Gazooddeen Khan, deſerves great praiſe. But in the greater part of his life, little can be found deſerving the applauſe of poſterity. Irreſolute and indeciſive in his meaſures, he too frequently rendered uſeleſs the plans formed by his friends for the recovery of his authority, while his exceſſive love of pleaſure, and infatuated attachment to unworthy favorites, contributed to degrade him in the eyes of his neighbours and allies, and render the ſmall remains of his dominion contemptible. All his miniſters, with the exception of Nujuff Khan, were prodigal and rapacious in the extreme; they perceived the king's weakneſs, and, by flattering his vanity and ſupplying his extravagance, enſured to themſelves an uncontroled authority in the ſtate, while they abuſed the generoſity of their ſovereign, by committing every ſpecies of enormity and oppreſſive violence.

Shah-Aulum had improved a very good education by ſtudy and reflection; he was a complete maſter of the languages of the eaſt, and as a writer, attained an eminence ſeldom acquired by perſons in his high ſtation. His correſpondence with the different princes of the country, during a very long and chequered reign, exhibits proofs of a mind highly cultivated; and if we may judge by an elegiac

eſſay, compoſed after the cruel loſs of his ſight, he appears to have great merit in pathetic compoſition. In the internal economy of his houſehold, he is univerſally allowed to be an affectionate parent, a kind maſter, and a generous patron. His trials have been many, and it is earneſtly to be hoped the evening of his life may be paſſed in a peaceful tranquillity; upon a review of his life and actions, it may, without injuſtice, be pronounced, that though Shah-Aulum poſſeſſed not a capacity ſufficiently vigorous to renovate the ſprings of a relaxed government, or emulate his illuſtrious anceſtors, he, notwithſtanding, had many virtues commendable in a private ſtation; but he unfortunately reigned at a time when the royal authority was in its moſt degraded ſtate, and when great and ſhining talents were neceſſary to render permanent his power, and curb the licentious effuſions of rebellious and diſobedient ſubjects. The *Sun of Timoor*, as a reſpectable hiſtorian* has juſtly obſerved, is moſt probably ſet for ever; and if a continuation of the metaphor be allowable, it may be added, that the decline and utter extinction of that auguſt family was reſerved to the days of the unfortunate Shah-Aulum.

* Captain Jonathan Scott, from whoſe hiſtory of Deccan the author is happy to acknowledge he has received conſiderable advantage, in elucidating the intricacies of dates under which oriental writers ſo conſtantly labour.

Liſt of Authorities quoted for the preſent Work.

1. *SHAH-AULUM Nameh, or a Hiſtory of the Reign of the Emperor Shah-Aulum, written in the Perſian Language by Gholaum Ali Khan, a Mogul, formerly in the Service of Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht Jehaundar Shah, and now Reſident at Lucknow.*

2. *MS. of Syud Rezzi Khan, containing the Tranſactions of the laſt nine Years of the Reign of Shah-Aulum.*

3. *MS. of Munnoo Loll, a Hindoo, containing the thirteen firſt Years of the Reign of Shah-Aulum.*

4. *Ouſafi Aſof: a Genealogical Account of the reigning Family of Oude—Author unknown.*

5. *Hudeeka Al Akauleem: a Geographical Account of the different Provinces of Hindoſtaun, written in the Perſian Language.*

6. *Captain Salkeld's MS. Operations of Sindiah and Mahomed Beg Khan Hamdani, written in the Perſian Language.*

APPENDIX, I.

Account of Modern DELHI *.

THE province of Delhi, agreeably to the deſcription of native geographers, is bounded on the eaſt by Agrah, on the weſt by Lahore, ſouth by Agimere, and north by the Kummow Hills. Its length, from the town of Pulwul, near Agrah, to the river Sutluz, is 160 coſes; and its breadth, from the town of Rewari to the Kummow Hills, is 140 coſes. It is divided into eight Circars, or principal diſtricts, namely, Shahjehanabad, (modern Delhi), Serhind, Hiſſar Feiroozeh, Sehaurunpore, Sumbul, Bedaoon, Narnoul. Theſe are again ſubdivided into 289 inferior diſtricts, yielding, according to the imperial regiſter, a revenue of ſeventy-four crore ſixty-three lacks of Daums †, or one million eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling.

In the year of the Hijerah 1041, (A. D. 1631-2), the Emperor Shah Jehan founded the preſent city and palace of Shahjehanabad, which he made his capital during the remainder of his reign. The

* The following account of the preſent ſtate of Delhi is extracted from a journal of obſervations made during an official tour through the Doo Ab and the adjacent diſtricts by the author, in company with Major Reynolds, of the Bombay eſtabliſhment, appointed by the Bengal government to ſurvey that part of the country in 1793-4.

† Perſian MS. entitled Hudeeka Al Akauleem.

new city of Shahjehanabad lies on the weſtern bank of the Jumna, in latitude 28. 36. north. The city is about ſeven miles in circumference, and is ſurrounded on three ſides by a wall of brick and ſtone; a parapet runs along the whole, but there are no cannon planted on the ramparts. The city has ſeven gates: viz. *Lahore* gate, *Delhi* gate, *Ajimere* gate, *Turkoman* gate, *Moor* gate, *Cabul* gate, *Caſhmere* gate; all of which are built of free ſtone, and have handſome arched entrances of ſtone, where the guards of the city keep watch. Near the Ajimere gate is a Mudruſſa, or college, erected by Gazooddeen Cawn, nephew of Nizam-ool-Mooluk; it is built of red ſtone, and ſituated in the center of a ſpacious quadrangle, with a fountain lined with ſtone. At the upper end of the area is a handſome moſque, built of red ſtone, and inlaid with white marble. This college is now uninhabited.

In the neighbourhood of the Cabul gate is a garden called Tees Huzzari Baug, in which is the tomb of the Queen Malika Zemani, wife of the Emperor Mahmud Shah; a marble tablet placed at the head of the grave is engraved with ſome Perſian couplets, informing us of the date of her death, which happened but five years ſince, A. Hijerah 1203. On a riſing ground near this garden, from whence there is a fine proſpect of the city, are two broken columns of brown granite, eight feet high, and two and a half in breadth, on which are inſcriptions in antient characters.

About one mile eaſt of the city, is the tomb of the celebrated Jehanarah Begum, eldeſt daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan *,

* Dow, *paſſim.*

no leſs famous for her wit, gallantry, and beauty, than for her filial attachment in undergoing a voluntary confinement of ten years with her father in the caſtle of Agrah.

The tomb is of fine white marble, uncovered at the top, which was formerly filled with earth and flowers. At the head of the grave is a tablet of white marble, with an inſcription in black characters; the ſlab is decorated at its corners with cornelians of different colours.

بجز گیاه وسبزی کسی نپوشد مزار ما ۱۰۹۴
که قبرپوش غربان همه گیاه وبس

الفقره العانیت حمان ارا بگیم نبت شاه جهان مرید خواجه کان چستی

In Engliſh thus:

" Let no one ſcatter over my grave ought beſides earth and ver-
" dure, for ſuch is beſt befitting the ſepulchre of one of an humble
" mind."

On the margin:

" The periſhable Fakeer, Jehanarai Begum, daughter to Shah
" Jehan, and diſciple of the ſaints of Cheeſty, in the year of the
" Hijerah 1094.

Within the city of new Delhi are the remains of many ſplendid palaces belonging to the great Omrahs of the empire. Among the largeſt are thoſe of Cummer-o'deen Cawn, vizir to Mahmud Shah;

Ali Merdan Khan, the Perſian; the Nabob Gazooddeen Cawn; Sefdur Jung's; the garden * of Coodſeah Begum, mother to Mahmud Shah; the palace of Sadut Khan, and that of Sultaun Darah Shekoah. All theſe palaces are ſurrounded by high walls, and take up a conſiderable ſpace of ground. Their entrances are through lofty arched gateways of brick and ſtone, at the top of which are the galleries for muſic; before each is a ſpacious court-yard for the elephants, horſes, and attendants of the viſitors. Each palace has likewiſe a *Mahal*, or ſeraglio, adjoining, which is ſeparated from the great hall by a partition wall, and communicates by means of private paſſages. All of them had gardens, with capacious reſervoirs of ſtone, and fountains in the center. An ample terrace extended round the whole of each particuluar palace; and within the walls were houſes and apartments for ſervants and followers of every deſcription, beſides ſtabling for horſes, elephants, and every thing appertaining to a nobleman's ſuite. Each palace is likewiſe provided with a handſome ſet of baths, and a Teh Khana under ground.

The baths of Sadut Khan are a ſet of beautiful rooms, paved, and lined with white marble; they conſiſt of five diſtinct apartments, into which light is admitted by glazed windows at the top of the domes. Sefdur Jung's Teh Khana conſiſts of a ſet of apartments built in a light and delicate ſtyle; one long room, in which is a marble reſervoir the whole length, and a ſmaller one raiſed and balluſtraded on each ſide; both faced throughout with white marble.

* Of this garden and palace a moſt beautiful and accurate painting may be ſeen in Daniell's Views in Hindoſtaun.

Shahjehanabad is adorned with many fine moſques, ſeveral of which are ſtill in perfect beauty and repair. The following are moſt worthy of deſcription:

Firſt, the *Jama Musjid**, or great cathedral. This moſque is ſituated about a quarter of a mile from the royal palace; the foundation of it was laid upon a rocky eminence named Jujula Pahar, and has been ſcarped on purpoſe. The aſcent to it is by a flight of ſtone ſteps, thirty-five in number, through a handſome gateway of red ſtone. The doors of this gateway are covered throughout with plates of wrought braſs, which Mr. *Bernier* imagined to be copper. The terrace on which the moſque is ſituated, is a ſquare of about fourteen hundred yards of red ſtone: in the center is a fountain lined with marble, for the purpoſe of performing the neceſſary ablutions previous to prayer.

An arched colonade of red ſtone ſurrounds the whole of the terrace, which is adorned with octagon pavillions for ſitting in. The moſque is of an oblong form, two hundred and ſixty-one feet in length, ſurrounded at top by three magnificent domes of white marble interſected with black ſtripes, and flanked by two *Minarets* of black marble and red ſtone alternately, riſing to the height of an hundred and thirty feet. Each of theſe Minarets has three projecting galleries of white marble, having their ſummits crowned with light octagon pavillions of the ſame. The whole front of the building is faced with large ſlabs of beautiful white marble; and

* Of this moſque likewiſe is to be ſeen a beautiful painting by the Daniells.

along the cornice are ten compartments, four feet long and two and a half broad, which are inlaid with inſcriptions in black marble in the *Niſkki* character, and are ſaid to contain the greater part, if not the whole, of the *Koran*.

The inſide of the moſque is paved throughout with large ſlabs of white marble, decorated with a black border, and is wonderfully beautiful and delicate; the ſlabs are about three feet in length by one and a half broad. The walls and roof are lined with plain white marble; and near the *Kibla** is a handſome *Taak*, or niche, which is adorned with a profuſion of freize work. Cloſe to this is a *Mimber*, or pulpit, of marble, which has an aſcent of four ſteps, balluſtraded.

The aſcent to the Minarets is by a winding ſtair-caſe of an hundred and thirty ſteps of red ſtone; and at the top the ſpectator is gratified by a noble view of the king's palace, the Cuttub Minar, the Hurran Minar, Humaioon's mauſoleum, the palace of Feroze Shah, the fort of old Delhi, and the fort of Loni, on the oppoſite banks of the river Jumna.

The domes are crowned with culliſes of copper richly gilt, and preſent a glittering appearance from afar off. This moſque was begun by the emperor Shah Jehan in the fourth year of his reign, and completed in the tenth. The expences of its erection amounted

* *Kibla* literally implies a compaſs, but here means a ſmall hollow or excavation in the walls of Mahomedan moſques, ſo ſituated on the erection of the buildings, as always to look towards the city of Mecca.

to ten lacks of rupees; and it is in every reſpect worthy of being the great cathedral of the empire of Hindoſtaun.

Not far from the palace is the moſque of Roſhun Al Dowla, rendered memorable to the Delhians for being the place where Nadir Shah beheld the maſſacre of the unfortunate inhabitants. The cauſe aſſigned by hiſtorians for this inhuman act is, that a ſedition broke out in the great market place, in which two thouſand Perſians were ſlain. Nadir, on hearing of the tumult, marched out of the fort at night with a ſmall force to the Musjid of Roſhun Al Dowla, where he was fired upon in the morning from a neighbouring terrace, and an officer killed cloſe by his ſide. He inſtantly ordered an indiſcriminate ſlaughter of the inhabitants; and his ſquadrons of cavalry pouring through the ſtreets before the afternoon, put to death an hundred thouſand perſons of all deſcriptions.

"The king of Perſia," ſays the tranſlator* of Feriſhta, "ſat, "during this dreadful ſcene, in the Musjid of Roſhun Al Dowla: "none but ſlaves durſt come near him, for his countenance was "dark and terrible. At length, the unfortunate emperor†, attended "by a number of his chief Omrahs, ventured to approach him with "downcaſt eyes. The Omrahs, who preceded Mahmud, bowed "down their foreheads to the ground. Nadir Shah ſternly aſked "them what they wanted; they cried out with one voice, "Spare "the city." Mahmud ſaid not a word, but tears flowed faſt from "his eyes: the tyrant, for once touched with pity, ſheathed his

* Colonel Dow. † Mahmud Shah.

" ſword, and ſaid, " for the ſake of the prince Mahmud I for-
" give."

Since this dreadful maſſacre, this quarter of Delhi has been but very thinly inhabited. The moſque of Roſhun Al Dowlah is ſituated at the entrance of the *Chandney Choke*, or market; it is of the common ſize, built of red ſtone, and ſurmounted by three domes, richly gilt.

Zeenut Al Muſajid, or the ornament of moſques, is on the banks of the Jumna, and was erected by a daughter of *Aurengzeeb*, of the name of Zeenut Al Niſſah. It is of red ſtone, with inlayings of marble, and has a ſpacious terrace in front, with a capacious reſervoir faced with marble. The princeſs who built it, having declined entering into the marriage ſtate, laid out a large ſum of money in the above moſque, and on its completion, ſhe built a ſepulchre of white marble, ſurrounded by a wall of the ſame, in the weſt corner of the terrace. Here ſhe was buried in the year of the Hijerah 1122, correſponding to the year of Chriſt, 1710. There were formerly lands allotted for the ſupport and repairs of this place, amounting to a lack of rupees per annum, but they have long ſince been confiſcated, during the troubles this city has undergone. Excluſive of the moſques afore mentioned, there are, in Shahjehanabad and its environs, above forty others; but as moſt of them are of inferior ſize and beauty, and all of them of a ſimilar faſhion, it is unneceſſary to preſent any farther detail.

The modern city of Shahjehanabad is rebuilt, and contains many

good houſes, chiefly of brick; the ſtreets are, in general, narrow, as is uſual in moſt of the large cities in Aſia; but there were formerly two very noble ſtreets, the firſt leading from the palace gate, through the city, to the Delhi gate, in a direction north and ſouth. This ſtreet was broad and ſpacious, having handſome houſes on each ſide of the way, and merchants' ſhops well furniſhed with a variety of the richeſt articles. Shah Jehan cauſed an aqueduct of red ſtone to be made, which conveyed the water the whole length of the ſtreet, and from thence, by a reſervoir under ground, into the royal gardens.—Remains of this aqueduct are ſtill to be ſeen, but it is in moſt parts choaked up with rubbiſh. The ſecond grand ſtreet entered in the ſame manner, from the palace to the Lahore gate, lying eaſt and weſt; it was equal in all reſpects to the former; but in both of them the inhabitants have ſpoiled the beauty of their appearance, by running a line of houſes down the center, and, in other places, acroſs the ſtreet, ſo that it is with difficulty a perſon can diſcover, without narrowly inſpecting, their former poſition.

The Bazars in Delhi are at preſent but indifferently furniſhed, and the population of late years miſerably reduced. The Chandney Choke is the beſt furniſhed in the city, though its commerce is but trifling. Cotton cloths are ſtill manufactured, and they export indigo. Their imports are by the northern caravans, which generally come once a year; they bring with them from *Cabul* and *Caſhmere*, ſhawls, fruits, and horſes; the two former articles are procurable in Delhi at a reaſonable rate. There is alſo a manufactory at Delhi for hooka bottoms. Precious ſtones are alſo to be had in the Bazars, and the black and red cornelians of the largeſt and moſt

beautiful ſize. The adjoining country is well cultivated, and the neighbourhood of the city produces corn, rice, mullet, and indigo.

The city is divided into thirty-ſix mohauls or diſtricts, each of which is named either after the particular Omrah who reſided there, or from ſome local circumſtance relative to the place.

It appears that modern Delhi has been built principally upon two rocky eminences, the one where the Jama Musjid is ſituated, named *Jujula Pahar;* and the other the quarter of the oil merchants, called *Bejula Pahar;* from both of theſe you have a commanding view of the reſt of the city. With reſpect to the ruins of old Delhi, the extent cannot, I ſuppoſe, be leſs than a circumference of twenty miles, reckoning from the gardens of Shalimar, on the north weſt, to the Kuttub Minar, on the ſouth eaſt, and proceeding from thence along the center of the old city, by way of the mauſoleum of Nizam Al Deen, the tomb of Humaioon, which adjoins, and the old fort of Delhi on the Jumna, to the Agimere gate of Shajehanabad. The environs to the north and weſt are crowded with remains of ſpacious gardens and country houſes of the nobility, which were formerly abundantly ſupplied with water, by means of a noble canal dug by Ali Merdan Khan, and which formerly entered from above the city of Panniput, quite down to Delhi, where it joined the Jumna, fertilizing in its courſe a tract of more than ninety miles in length, and beſtowing comfort and affluence on thoſe who lived within its extent. This canal, as it run through the ſuburbs of Mogul Parah, nearly three miles in length, was twenty-five feet deep, and as much in breadth, cut from the quarry of ſolid ſtone,

from which moſt of the neighbouring houſes have been likewiſe built. Over it, at different places, were built ſmall bridges of ſtone, which communicated with the garden houſes of the nobility.

Ancient Delhi is ſaid, by hiſtorians, to have been erected by Rajah Delu, who reigned in Hindoſtaun prior to the invaſion of *Alexander the Great;* others affirm it to have been built by Rajah Pettouvar, who flouriſhed at a much later period.—It is called in Sanſcrit, *Indraput*, or the abode of *Indra*, one of the *Hindu* deities, and it is thus diſtinguiſhed in the royal diplomas of the chancery-office. Whether the city be of the antiquity reported, it is difficult to determine, but this much is certain, that the vaſt quantity of buildings, both ancient and modern, which are to be found within the extent above mentioned, as well as their grandeur and ſtyle of architecture, prove it to have been a rich, flouriſhing, and populous city.

I will only add a ſhort account of the royal gardens of *Shalimar;* theſe gardens, made by the emperor *Shah Jehan*, were begun in the fourth year of his reign, and finiſhed in the thirteenth, on which occaſion, according to Colonel Dow, the emperor gave a grand feſtival to his court. Theſe gardens were laid out with admirable taſte, and coſt the enormous ſum of a million ſterling; their preſent appearance does not give cauſe to ſuppoſe ſuch an immenſe ſum has been laid out upon them, though great part of the moſt valuable and coſtly materials have been carried away. The entrance to them is through a gateway of brick, and a canal, lined with ſtone, having walks on each ſide, paved with brick, leads up to the *Dewaun*

Khana, or hall of audience, moſt part of which is now fallen down; from hence, by the ſide of a noble canal, having a fountain in the center; you proceed to the apartments of the *Haram*, which occupy a large extent of ground. In front is an *Ivaun*, or open hall, with apartments adjoining, the interior of which are decorated with a beautiful border of white and gold painting, upon a ground of the fineſt *chunam*.

On each ſide of this Ivaun, encloſed by high walls, are the apartments of the *Haram*, ſome of which are built of red ſtone, and ſome of brick, faced with the chunam afore mentioned, and ornaments, with paintings of flowers of various kinds. All the apartments have winding paſſages, which communicate with each other, and the gardens adjoining by private doors. The extent of *Shalimar* does not appear to have been very large. I ſuppoſe the gardens altogether are not above one mile in circumference: a high brick wall runs around the whole, and the extremities are flanked with octagon pavilions of red ſtone. The gardens ſtill abound with trees of a very large ſize, and very old. The proſpect, ſouth of Shalimar, towards Delhi, as far as the eye can reach, is covered with the remains of extenſive gardens, pavilions, moſques, and burial places. The environs of this once magnificent and celebrated city, appear now nothing more than a ſhapeleſs heap of ruins, and the country round about is equally deſolate and forlorn.

" *The ſpider hath woven his web in the royal palace of the Cæſars,*
" *The owl ſtandeth centinel on the watch-towers of Afraſiab!*"

On the 11th of March, 1794, the author accompanied Major Reynolds, who was at Delhi, on a deputation from the Bengal government, to an audience of his majeſty, Shah-Aulum.

After entering the palace, we were carried to the *Dewaun-Khana*, or hall of audience for the nobility, in the middle of which was a throne, raiſed about a foot and a half from the ground. In the center of this elevation was placed a chain of crimſon velvet, bound with gold claſps, and over the whole was thrown an embroidered covering of gold and ſilver thread. A handſome *ſamianah* *, ſupported by four pillars, incruſted with ſilver, was placed over the chair of ſtate. The king was at this time in the *Tuſbeah Khana*, or oratory, an apartment in which he generally ſits. On paſſing a ſkreen of Indian *Connaughts*, we proceeded to the front of the *Tuſbeah Khana*, and being arrived in the preſence of the king, each of us made three obeiſances in turn, by throwing down the right hand pretty low, and afterwards raiſing it to the forehead; we then went up to the Muſnud, on which his majeſty ſat, and preſented our Nuzzirs, or white handkerchiefs, each of our names being announced at the time we offered them. The king received the whole, and gave the Nuzzirs to his ſon, *Mirza Akbar Shah*, and two other princes, who ſat on his left hand. We then retired with our faces towards the preſence, made the ſame obeiſance as before, and returned a ſecond time to the Muſnud. After a ſlight converſation, we were directed to go without the encloſure, and put on the Khilluts which his majeſty had ordered for us. They conſiſted of light

* Canopy.

Indian dreſſes, a turband Jamah, and Cumberbund, made of cotton, with ſmall gold ſprigs. On being cloathed in theſe dreſſes, we once more returned, and after a few minutes ſtay, previous to which, Major Reynolds received a ſword and a title from the king, we were diſmiſſed, and ſome ſervants were ordered to attend us, while viewing the palace.

The palace of the royal family of Timoor was erected by the Emperor Shah Jehan, at the time he built the new city. It is ſituated on the weſtern bank of the river Jumna, and is ſurrounded on three ſides by a wall of red ſtone; I judge the circumference of the whole to be about one mile.

The two ſtone figures, mentioned by *Bernier*, at the entrance of the palace, which repreſented the Rajah of *Chittore*, and his brother Potta, ſeated on two elephants of ſtone, are not now to be ſeen.—They were removed by order of *Aurengezebe*, as favoring too much of idolatry, and he encloſed the ſpace on which they ſtood with a ſkreen of red ſtone, which has diſfigured the entrance to the palace.

The firſt object, after entering, that attracts attention, is the *Dewaun Aum*, or public hall of audience, for all deſcriptions of people. It is ſituated at the upper end of a ſpacious ſquare, and, though at preſent much in decay, is a noble building. On each ſide of the *Dewaun Aum*, and all round the ſquare, are apartments of two ſtories in height, the walls and front of which, in the times of the ſplendour of the empire, were adorned with a profuſion of

the richeſt tapeſtry, velvets and ſilks, the nobles vying with each other, in rendering them the moſt magnificent, eſpecially on feſtivals and days of public rejoicings, which preſented a grand ſight. Theſe decorations have, however, long ſince been diſcontinued, and nothing but bare walls now remain.

From the *Dewaun Aum* we proceeded through another handſome gateway to the Dewaun Khaſs afore mentioned. This building likewiſe is ſituated at the upper end of a ſpacious ſquare, elevated upon a terrace of marble about four feet in height. The Dewaun Khaſs, in former times, was adorned with exceſſive magnificence; and though repeatedly ſtript and plundered by ſucceſſive invaders, ſtill retains ſufficient beauty to render it admired. I judge the building to be an hundred and fifty feet in length by forty in breadth. The roof is flat, ſupported by numerous columns of fine white marble, which have been richly ornamented with inlaid flower work of different coloured ſtones: the cornices and borders have been decorated with freize and ſculptured work. The cieling was formerly incruſted with a rich foliage of ſilver throughout its whole extent, which has been long ſince taken away. The delicacy of the inlaying in the compartments of the walls is much to be admired; and it is matter of bitter regret to ſee the barbarous ravages that have been made by picking out the different cornelians, and breaking the marble by violence. Around the exterior of the Dewaun Khaſs, in the cornice, are the following lines, written in letters of gold upon a ground of white marble:

اگر فردوسي بر روي زمين است
همين است همين است همين است

" If there be a paradiſe upon earth, this is it—'tis this—'tis this."

The terrace of this building is compoſed of large ſlabs of white marble, and the building is crowned at top with four pavilions or cupolas of the ſame materials. The royal baths built by the emperor Shah Jehan are ſituated a little to the northward of the Dewaun Khaſs, and conſiſt of three very large rooms ſurmounted by domes of white marble. The inſide of them, about two thirds of the way up, is lined with marble, having beautiful borders of flowers, worked cornelians, and other ſtones executed with much taſte.—The floors are paved throughout with marble in large ſlabs; there are fountains in the center, which have paſſes to carry the water into the different apartments: large reſervoirs of marble, four feet in depth, are placed in the walls. The light is admitted from the roof by windows of ſtained glaſs; and capacious ſtoves with iron gratings are placed underneath each ſeparate apartment. Adjoining the baths is a very fine moſque made after the faſhion already deſcribed.

In the royal gardens is a very large octagon room, which faces the Jumna: it is called *Shah Burj*, or the Royal Tower, and is lined with marble. Through the window of this room, the late heir apparent, Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, made his eſcape in 1784, when he fled to Lucknow. Great part of the palace has ſuffered by the deſtructive ravages of the late invaders. The Rohillas, in particular, who were introduced by Gholaum Cadir Khan, have ſtripped many of the rooms of their marble ornaments and pavements.

Adjoining the palace is the fort of Selim Ghur; it communicates by a bridge of ſtone built over an arm of the river: it is now entirely in ruins*.

* Two buildings, which are equally worthy the inſpection of a traveller, have not been deſcribed in the preceding account; namely, the *Gentur Muntur*, or Obſervatory, built by Rajah Jey Sing; and the *Cuttub Minar*, or the famous column in the neighbourhood of the city. Of both of theſe, the Meſſrs. Daniells have brought to England moſt beautiful and accurate paintings, and the latter has likewiſe been deſcribed by Captain Blunt, of the Bengal engineers, one of the author's companions in the journey before mentioned.

APPENDIX, II.

A Narrative of the Revolution at Rampore in 1794.

FIZOOLAH Khan, after the battle of Cutturah in 1774, retired with the remainder of the Rohillas to the Cummaoon Hills. The events of the campaign under Colonel Champion, and the ſubſequent treaty of Loll Dong in the ſame year, are in the hands of every one.

By that treaty, Fizoolah Khan had a territory allotted to him, which was eſtimated at the annual value of fourteen lacks of rupees*. He choſe the city of Rampore as the place of his reſidence, and ſedulouſly employed himſelf to the improvement of his country, and his ſubjects' welfare.

His virtuous efforts were crowned with deſerved ſucceſs; and, after an uninterrupted and proſperous adminiſtration of twenty years, during which he nearly doubled the revenues of his country, he expired in Auguſt 1794 in full poſſeſſion of the eſteem and love of his ſubjects, and in high repute with the native princes of India for his benevolence, generoſity, and good faith.

* About 150,000l. ſterling.

Fizoolah Khan left behind him a family of ten children; ſeven ſons and three daughters. His eldeſt ſon, Mahomed Ali Khan, ſucceeded to his dominions, agreeably to the eſtabliſhed rights of primogeniture, and was acknowledged as chief by the Rohilla tribe.

Mahomed Ali is deſcribed by his countrymen as being groſs and cruel; and was, conſequently, exceſſively diſliked by the body of the people, who, from the characteriſtic of their natural ſpirit, require from their ſuperiors a conciliating manner and kind treatment as the price of obedience. On the other hand, the ſecond ſon (by the ſame mother) named Gholaum Mahomed, who, though a young man of violent and turbulent diſpoſition, was by his tribe generally beloved. He had been the favourite of his father during the latter years of his life, and had conducted under him the moſt important buſineſs of the ſtate.

By his unremitted attention to the cultivation of the jaghire, he had, in a particular manner, gained the eſteem of the huſbandmen, who in fact compoſe the great body of the people; and the addition of a handſome perſon, and an affected ſuavity of manners, with a plauſible attention to his exterior demeanor, had riveted him in the eſteem and warmeſt affection of the ſoldiers at large.

Spurred on thus by ambition, and having once taſted the intoxicating cup of pleaſure, he could ill brook a ſudden deſcent into inſignificance; he ſcarcely permitted the eyes of his aged father to be cloſed, when he entered into a cabal with ſome of the leading and moſt turbulent of the Rohilla chiefs.

A conſciouſneſs of his own natural ſuperiority over his brother, ſtimulated him to commit a barbarous crime, at which human nature revolts, and at once to rend aſunder the bonds of brotherhood and loyalty.

Gholaum Mahomed having gained over to his intereſts the principal officers of the army, and, through them, ſecured the attachment of the troops, proceeded to execute the deſign formed for the depoſition of his brother. Seventeen days after the death of Fizoolah Khan, Gholaum Mahomed, attended by a ſelect party well armed, entered the Durbar of Mahomed Ali. A confidential ſervant appriſed the Nuwaub of his brother's intended viſit; and at the ſame time cautioned him to be on his guard, as treachery was intended.

"It is impoſſible my brother can entertain evil deſigns againſt "me: has he not taken the ſacred Koran?" was the anſwer of the infatuated prince. He was too ſoon convinced of his errror.

On entering the apartment, Gholaum Mahomed, as had been agreed upon by the conſpirators, bore himſelf with deſigned haughtineſs and diſreſpect towards his brother. This, as was foreſeen and deſired, inflamed Mahomed Ali, and excited the iraſcibility of his temper. He broke forth into the groſſeſt abuſe, and, in his ungovernable rage, was ſo raſh as to draw his ſabre.

Gholaum Mahomed now gave the ſignal of attack, and his brother was inſtantly ſurrounded by the whole body of conſpirators, who, after a reſolute and deſperate reſiſtance, cut him down. He

was then confined, and ſent to the houſe of the late Fizoolah Khan, where he was received by the women of the family, who having dreſſed his wounds, endeavoured to alleviate his grief and reconcile him to his fate.

The uſurper was acknowledged by the army and people at Rampore with loud acclamations. Shortly after this event, it was underſtood by letters which arrived from Lucknow, that the enlargement of the depoſed Nuwaub, and his being permitted to reſide at Lucknow, would be acceptable to the vizir *.

A council, conſiſting of Gholaum Mahomed and his principal leaders, was held on the occaſion, and they were requeſted to give their reſpective opinions on the ſubject before them.

It has been affirmed, but not corroborated by any teſtimony that has come within our knowledge, that the uſurper himſelf appeared inclined to a merciful determination, and would have liberated his brother. This, however, was violently oppoſed by ſome of the leaders, and particularly by Nutchoo Khan and Omar Khan, two of the moſt ferocious and ſanguinary of the Rohilla tribe: they declared, as a reaſon for their diſlike to Mahomed Ali's enlargement, that, ſhould he once quit the jaghire and be allowed to join the Britiſh

* It is neceſſary here to remark, that the above circumſtance was communicated to the author by a confidential ſervant of the late Fizoolah Khan, who is now living at Rampore. At the ſame time impartiality demands us to ſtate, that the credibility of the circumſtance reſts ſolely on the teſtimony of this man, (it being denied by the people of Oude)

army, there could be no doubt but all thoſe concerned in the late revolution, together with their wives and families, would, in the event of a defeat, be expoſed to the moſt ſevere reſentment; even, ſaid Omar Khan, "to their grinding of rice for the infidels *."

Theſe arguments decided the queſtion; and it was unanimouſly reſolved to put the unhappy prince to death. But the carrying this ſanguinary reſolve into effect was a matter of no ſmall difficulty, and required a diſplay of conſiderable art and perfidy.

Mahomed Ali, as we have ſeen, was within the walls of the Haram, a ſanctuary which, in Hindoſtaun, it is conſidered in the higheſt degree diſhonourable to violate or pollute. Gholaum Mahomed, therefore, proceeded in a manner equally ſubtle, as refinedly cruel. He ſent for a perſon then at Rampore, by name Shah Huſſun, a *Syud* †, and a man reſpected by all for his ſanctity, his age, and exemplary manners. In the preſence of this man, the uſurper ſwore upon the Koran, that if his ill-fated brother would voluntarily quit his aſylum, not a hair of his head ſhould ſuſtain injury: he concluded, by requeſting of the Syud to prevail upon his brother to come forth.

Satisfied with an aſſurance ſo ſolemn, the holy man repaired to the palace of Fizoolah Khan; and there having repeated what he had heard from the uſurper, Mahomed Ali was perſuaded to yield his

* Which, in Aſia, is conſidered an office of the moſt menial nature.

† Deſcendant of the Prophet.

aſſent. He accordingly quitted his aſylum, and was forthwith conducted to a ſmall fort about a mile diſtant from the city.

Having thus obtained poſſeſſion of his brother's perſon, Gholaum Mahomed next deliberated on the ſureſt mode of depriving him of his life, without himſelf incurring the guilt of fratricide. Omar Khan, whom we have before mentioned as the moſt ſavage of his adviſers, propoſed the deteſtable method of poiſoning his victuals; and to this, however incredible it may appear, the inhuman brother gave his conſent. The perſons who had charge of the priſoner were directed to carry this reſolution into effect. But information of the deſign having been previouſly communicated to Mahomed Ali, he refuſed to eat. For three days and as many nights did the unhappy prince remain without ſuſtenance, and in a ſtate of torpid inſenſibility. The fourth day, nature being exhauſted, and rouſed by the calls of hunger, the Nuwaub prevailed upon the humanity of a water-carrier who attended him to afford him a ſmall portion of flour: of this, which he prepared with his own hands by mixing it with water, he ate a morſal; but his ſtomach, weakened by ſo long faſting, almoſt immediately on ſwallowing, rejected the food.

Meanwhile the barbarian, finding his intentions fruſtrated, and impatient of the delay, reſolved to complete his bloody purpoſe by the daggers of aſſaſſination. Four wretches, Munſa, Syud Khan, Toolloo, and another, were ſelected for the perpetration of this horrid deed.

Notwithſtanding the ſecrecy with which the order was given, of

this, likewiſe, Mahomed Ali received information, and perceiving that his fate was approaching, he ſent an affectionate meſſage to his Begum and family, and as a final effort to avert his brother's vengeance, he, for the ſake of his family, acquainted the Syud, whom we have before noticed, of the ultimate reſolution of his unrelenting brother.

The Syud, equally aſtoniſhed as indignant, at the baſe conduct of the uſurper, and commiſſerating the fate of his lawful prince, repaired to the Durbar of Gholaum Mahomed; he there publicly charged him with a breach of faith, and a contempt for the precepts of religion. The hypocrite, in reply, gave the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of the ſafety of Mahomed Ali, whoſe life, he added, "was dearer to him than his own." But the heart of this ruffian was not to be ſoftened; neither the recollection of their early years, nor the cloſer ties of fraternal affection, ſince arrived at manhood, could incline to pity or remorſe, and to add to the guilt of aſſaſſination, he deſcended to the meaneſt and vileſt ſubterfuge. In order that it might appear an act of ſuicide on the part of the miſerable brother, orders were given to the aſſaſſins to contrive the murder to that effect. Accordingly, entering the chamber of the ſleeping prince at midnight, they put an end to his exiſtence by a piſtol ſhot, and ſeveral ſtabs of a dagger. When the deed was done, they removed the body to a ſmall diſtance from where it lay, and after placing the weapon in the breaſt of the deceaſed, they departed.

Next morning intelligence of the deceaſe of Mahomed Ali was conveyed to his brother, while ſitting in the Durbar. The uſurper,

affecting the utmoſt ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment, burſt into tears, and lamented, in the moſt poignant terms, the unhappy raſhneſs of his brother, in committing ſo deſperate an act. To complete the infamy of this diabolical tranſaction, he directed the remains of his brother to be ſolemnly interred, and diſtributed a conſiderable ſum of money in charity, to pray for the repoſe of the ſoul of the deceaſed.

In this manner, polluted with a brother's blood, did Gholaum Mahomed aſcend the Muſnud of Rampore. The neceſſary ſteps were now to be taken to ſecure the eſtabliſhment of the uſurper.

As a prelude, letters were diſpatched to the vizir, in which Gholaum Mahomed endeavoured to excuſe the atrocity of his conduct; he offered, moreover, to his excellency, in alleviation of his guilt, a Nazzeranah* and Paiſhcuſh; and with profeſſions of the higheſt attachment and reſpect for the Nuwaub as his ſovereign and lord paramount, he concluded with requeſting a continuation of the Jaghire in his own perſon.

It may here be remarked, that this valuable Jaghire had only been granted for life to its late poſſeſſor, and conſequently, at his demiſe, it reverted to the Vizir, as lord paramount of Rohilcund†. It is true that ſome years ſince, it had been propoſed by the vizir him-

* Nazzeranah, a preſent which is uſually ſent by tributary princes in Hindoſtaun, on their acceſſion, to their ſovereign or lord paramount.

† Vide report of the ſelect committee for India affairs.—Major Palmer's embaſſy to Rampore.

ſelf, through the mediation of the ſupreme government at Calcutta, to Fizoolah Khan, to change the tenure of the Jaghire, which was only for life, into an *Altum Ghch*, which, by the uſages of Hindoſtaun, deſcends in perpetuity to ſucceſſors. A conſideration of fifteen lacks of rupees was then deemed a ſufficient compenſation. By ſome means or other the offer was rejected on the part of Fizoolah Khan, and, conſequently at his demiſe, the right of reſumption of the jaghire was evident and undeniable.

The vizir, who from his earlieſt youth had been immerſed in pleaſure, would now gladly have ſeized the favourable opportunity thus afforded him, of confiſcating this valuable jaghire, which would ſupply him with freſh means of gratifying his extravagance.

His fluctuating mind, however, unaccuſtomed to buſineſs, or deciſive exertion, heſitated, and with the imbecility and little craft inherent to *Aſiatic* policy, he had recourſe to temporizing meaſures.

The views of his miniſter, Rajah Ticket Roy, a man timid, irreſolute, and deſtitute of every qualification above that of a mere accomptant, were eaſily led to encourage the weakneſs of his maſter. This miniſter foreſaw and dreaded the difficulties in which he muſt unavoidably be involved, ſhould vigorous meaſures be purſued.

An empty treaſury, a deranged ſyſtem of finance, a weak government, deeply anticipated revenue, and an impoveriſhed country, afforded but ſlender means for ſupplying, not only the neceſſary expences of the war, but alſo to provide for the parade and extrava-

gance of his ſovereign, whoſe childiſhly expenſive turn he knew would not fail of diſplaying its pomp on this occaſion. He viewed with affright the embarraſſments that threatened him, and hoped, by accommodation, to eſcape the impending difficulties, and, at the ſame time, by a large mulct, to raiſe a temporary relief to the exigences of the ſtate.

The vizir and his miniſters, although from different motives, were united in a deſire to accommodate, tempted by the magnitude of the ſum* now offered, as Nuzzeranah, by Gholaum Mahomed. But, however ſtrong the neceſſity of the one, or the extravagance of the other, yet neither would venture on a deciſive ſtep in an affair ſo important, without conſulting their allies, the Engliſh, who were guarantees to the Jaghire Dar by the treaty of Loll Dong.

Accordingly, the vizir communicated the circumſtances of the event to the Britiſh reſident at Lucknow, who conveyed the intimation to the ſupreme board in Calcutta; at the ſame time, his excellency declared his intention to abide by the advice of that government.

It was ſuppoſed by many, that the Britiſh government would take no part in the buſineſs, and had they been deſirous of avoiding trouble, there exiſted a plauſible pretext for permitting the vizir to follow his own inclinations.

It was, however, juſtly conſidered, that were the Engliſh, under

* Twenty-two lacks of rupees.

the circumſtances of their known and intimate connection with the vizir, to overlook this foul murder, and ſuffer ſo heinous a crime to go unpuniſhed, it would be a conduct utterly unworthy and diſhonourable, and would not fail to derogate from the national character, in the eyes of the princes of Hindoſtaun.

Actuated by ſo generous a principle, the Britiſh government came to the determination to diſpoſſeſs and puniſh the rebel, and in purſuance of this reſolution, the two brigades which are ſtationed in Oude, by treaty, were ordered to take the field. Sir Robert Abercrombie, the commander in chief, being at that time on a tour to inſpect the troops at the upper ſtations of the army, was requeſted to undertake the expedition, and for that purpoſe, was inveſted with the moſt ample authority, and aſſiſted by the co-operation of the reſident at Lucknow.

Preparatory to the commencement of the campaign, the commander in chief was inſtructed to arrange and concert meaſures with the vizir, for the future government of the jaghire. Sir Robert Abercrombie accordingly had a meeting with his highneſs at Dalamow, on the banks of the Ganges. He there explained to the vizir, in the fulleſt and moſt diſtinct manner, that the Engliſh were determined to remove the murderer, Gholaum Mahomed, for ever, from any ſhare in the government of Rampore, and that whatever part of the jaghire it might hereafter be deemed proper to beſtow on the Rohillas, it muſt be conferred upon the *infant ſon* of the deceaſed Jaghire Dar.

The vizir, it is ſaid, was not leſs hurt at the dictatorial ſtrain of this communication, than diſſatisfied with its tenor (ſo averſe to his own wiſhes) or the wiſhes of his miniſter. They looked to immediate advantage, and eager to ſeize the golden prize, and both being devoid of every idea of national character, laughed to ſcorn the infatuation and folly of expending blood and treaſure, for what, in their own ſingular phraſeology, they deemed "A Name."

The Nuwaub, exhibiting ſymptoms of diſaffection, was finally given to underſtand, that without he explicitly acquieſced in the above points, that the Britiſh government would take no part in the buſineſs.

Immediate compliance enſued, and Sir Robert Abercrombie proceeded, with all expedition, to Cawnpore, and from that place to Futty Ghur, where he arrived, and aſſumed the command of the army on the 7th of October, 1794; the troops began to croſs the Ganges at Futty Ghur, and the Cawnpore brigade having joined, the army was formed a few days after on the banks of the Gamberah river.

Meanwhile the vizir had been collecting his army, which conſiſted of a numerous and undiſciplined rabble of infantry, and about 2000 horſe; and, for the ſake of an oſtentatious diſplay of pomp, 200 pieces of cannon, ſome of them of very large dimenſions, were dragged along with the multitude.

His highneſs quitted Lucknow on the 13th of October, and,

though by eaſy marches, he might eaſily have come up with the Britiſh general and joined forces, he, on the contrary, appeared deſirous to remain in the rear, and, notwithſtanding the preſſing and urgent ſolicitations of the Engliſh reſident, and General Martin, who attended his camp, he could not be perſuaded to advance.

Being ſolicited to ſend on, at leaſt, a body of cavalry, he declined the propoſal, and it was not until the day after the action, that any of the vizir's army joined the Britiſh. Our narration muſt now lead us to the ſituation of the Engliſh army, in which nothing material occurred until the 24th inſtant, when it encamped on the banks of the Sunkrah, a ſmall river, about five miles in advance of Bereilly, upon the high road to Rampore.

In the evening of that day an officer was ordered out with a party of troopers to patrole three or four miles in front, and report any occurrence to the general. That officer reported that 1500 of the enemy's horſe were advanced as far as Millik, a village about fifteen miles from the Britiſh encampment, and that ſome horſemen, about noon, had been ſeen examining the paſſage of the *Doo Jorah*, a ſmall river in front, and within the vizir's territories.

On the 25th, the Engliſh preſerved the ſame poſition, their front, to the Rampore road, and the Sunkra river, covering their rear, and, by a winding direction, protecting alſo the right flank, ſo that it could only be attacked, either on the left or in front, and in either caſe to the diſadvantage of the opponents.

About two o'clock, P. M. of this day, the commander in chief was aſtoniſhed at the intelligence that the Rohillas, in full force, were croſſing the Doo Jorah, accompanied by the cavalry of the line. The general advanced to a ſmall eminence in front, to obſerve the motions of the enemy. A meſſage from Gholaum Mahomed was, at this time, brought with a letter to the general, which Sir Robert would not receive, but deſired the meſſenger might be directed to return, and acquaint his maſter, that the Britiſh commander would hold no communication with him, until he retired within the Rampore boundary, and totally evacuated the territories of the vizir, the invaſion of which was highly improper, and added much to the atrocity of his crime. That the Rohillas would be allowed until the evening of the next day to withdraw their troops, which, if they did not, the Engliſh would conſider and treat them as enemies.

To this no anſwer was returned, but on the 26th of October the enemy appeared in a menacing and hoſtile manner, ſpreading over the plain in irregular and confuſed, though numerous, columns.

The general who had been to reconnoitre, returned to camp, and left one of his aids de camp to give timely notice of the enemy's motions. The enemy continuing to advance, and form, in an irregular manner, the Britiſh troops were immediately ordered to prepare for action.

The firſt brigade, conſiſting of the 13th native battalion, the 2d European regiment, and the 18th native, with the two regiments

of cavalry, formed the reſerve, and compoſed the right wing of the army. The 3d brigade, conſiſting of four native battalions, formed the left wing, and the 2d brigade, of equal ſtrength, compoſed the center. To each battalion in the line were attached two guns, and the grand park of artillery was poſted, in the interval, between the center diviſion and the left wing. From an eminence in front, which the enemy were unaccountably permitted to occupy, they ſoon commenced an harmleſs cannonade; their guns being greatly elevated, the ſhot paſſed over the Britiſh line. About ten, A. M. the line being regularly formed, two guns, the ſignal to advance, were fired in the center. The Engliſh troops began to advance, and continued to preſs forward with great ardour, until they met the enemy, who came on with unexampled reſolution and determined ferocity, upon the points of their bayonets, ſword in hand. The Britiſh artillery and muſketry did great execution; but could not entirely check the firſt onſet. The moſt deſperate effort of the Rohillas was made on the right of the reſerve, where Colonel Burrington commanded, and fell. The cavalry who were on the right flank, commanded by Captain Ramſay, when the enemy had advanced to about eighty paces, ſuddenly wheeled to the left, by order of their commanding officer, who led them into the rear of the reſerve. The ſuddenneſs of this unexpected and diſgraceful movement, and the charge which the enemy were thereby inſpired to make on the rear, threw the cavalry into confuſion, and left the gallant 13th battalion entirely expoſed: this the enemy perceiving, threw themſelves with the utmoſt violence upon the flank of that corps, and many of them having turned its rear, the whole right wing of the battalion were cut to pieces. Captain Macleod the commandant, a gallant and experi-

enced officer, together with four of his ſubalterns, fell; this corps preſſed upon the European regiment, which being alſo briſkly attacked, were thrown into a like confuſion. The Europeans, in turn, crowded upon the 18th battalion, and, notwithſtanding the ſteadineſs and exertion of that corps, animated by the preſence of their gallant leader, Major Bolton, much deſtruction was committed in a few minutes. The body of the enemy that made this impreſſion on the reſerve, had ſuffered much themſelves, but in the tumult, had paſſed through the intervals occaſioned by the diſorder, and were in the rear of the European regiment, when a part of the cavalry, which had, by the greateſt exertions of the ſubaltern officers, been rallied, returned back to the attack, and prevented further miſchief. The other divisions of the line having maintained an undaunted face throughout the whole of the battle, reſiſtance on the part of the Rohillas, at length, entirely ceaſed, and after a cloſe action of an hour and forty minutes, ſcarce a man of the enemy was to be ſeen.

The Britiſh line halted a few minutes on the field of battle to let the troops breathe, after which they purſued the enemy to the Doo Jorah river, on the oppoſite bank of which their camp was ſtill ſtanding; this was plundered by the vizir's horſemen, who, according to cuſtom, had come up after the action, and whilſt the Engliſh line was halted, to mark out their encampment, theſe banditti reaped the reward due to the valour of their allies.

The Rohilla force, from the moſt authentic accounts, conſiſted of 30,000 infantry, and about 4000 horſe; they had nearly 2000

men killed, and as many wounded; whilſt the Britiſh had to regret a dear-bought victory, in the loſs of 600 men and fourteen officers *, men of tried reputation in their profeſſion, and who had fought under the banners of Coote and Cornwallis.

On the 27th, the army halted to inter the dead, and take care of the wounded, who were ſent back to Bereily the ſame day, where an hoſpital was formed for their reception. On the 29th, the army reached and took poſſeſſion of the city of Rampore, the capital of the Rohilla jaghire, and excepting the low and family of Mahomed Ali, ſcarce a Rohillah remained in the place, the whole having evacuated the town the day ſucceeding the battle.

The Britiſh general then deemed it eligible to give up the town to the management of the vizir, whoſe people accordingly took poſſeſſion.

Intelligence of the retreat of the Rohillas into the Almora hills, which extend along the eaſtern boundary of Rohilcund, having been received, the Britiſh army advanced by eaſy marches, and on the 5th of November, encamped at the village of Puttah, at the foot of the

* Names of the officers killed in the action of the 26th October, 1794.—*Infantry:* Colonel Burrington, Major Bolton, Captain Macleod, Captain Mawbey. *Lieutenants:* W. Odell, W. Hinckſman, John Pitt, Joſeph Richardſon, T. Cummings, Z. Birch. *Wounded:* Major R. Bruce, Edwards. *Lieutenants:* R. Adams, Lewis Thomas, T. Robertſon, J. P. Pigot, Cavalry. *Artillery: Killed;* Captain Mordaunt. *Lieutenants:* E. Baker, J. Tilfer. *Wounded:* (ſince dead) Captain Wells, brigade major. It may be intereſting to the friends of theſe gallant officers, to learn that the Britiſh government have directed a monument to be erected over their remains, on the ſpot where they fell.

before-mentioned hills. The ſame day, Syud Khan, a confidential perſon, was diſpatched by Gholaum Mahomed into the Engliſh camp, with propoſals on the part of his maſter, that he (Gholaum Mahomed) would deliver himſelf up to the Engliſh, with the proviſion of perſonal ſafety to himſelf, and an aſſurance from the Britiſh general, that the honour of his family ſhould be preſerved inviolate. The Engliſh commander readily acquieſced in the propoſal, and about one o'clock next day, the Rohilla chief was met at a ſhort diſtance from the Britiſh camp, by the reſident at Lucknow, and by him conducted to the general's tent. He was accompanied by his younger brother, a youth of 17 years of age, and two of his ſirdars, Syud Khan and Omar Khan, the latter of whom was an old ſoldier, who had ſhared the fortunes of the late Fizoolah Khan, at Loll Dong, and ſerved him from that period until his death.

Gholaum Mahomed having thus ſurrendered his perſon, it was reaſonably ſuppoſed that matters would ſpeedily be brought to a concluſion; it ſoon, however, appeared, that that chief had, by the natural craft and corrupt turn of his own diſpoſition, been led to hope that bribes, and the all-powerful influence of gold, would ſtill ſecure him poſſeſſion of the jaghire. The treaſures of his late father, amounting to an immenſe ſum, which had been amaſſed by a ſeries of the moſt prudent induſtry and rigid economy, were in his hands, and, though regardleſs of either honour or honeſty, he had obſervation ſufficient to hope that his treaſures would not only gild his crimes, but mollify his enemies, and prove perſuaſive advocates in his favour; in this, however, he failed; and though he poſitively

offered the immenſe ſum of a lack of gold mohurs to the reſident, another to the general, and a third to the company, if he could be retained in the Neabot or deputyſhip of the jaghire, he was given to underſtand by Mr. Cherry, that he muſt for ever abandon every hope of that nature, and that neither the jaghire, nor even permiſſion to reſide within its precincts, would ever be granted him. After this ineffectual ſtruggle, ſome days paſſed without any thing being determined, and Gholaum Mahomed, either affected, or really not poſſeſſing any influence over his obſtinate countrymen, ſtill kept aloof from deciſion, which the general perceiving, and that by patience and forbearance matters were only more procraſtinated, it was determined to conſider the Rohilla chief entirely out of the queſtion, and the plan of a ſeparate negotiation with the chiefs in the Rohilla camp was adopted. A general pardon was offered to thoſe miſguided men and their adherents, on their ſubmiſſion to the vizir. Their troops had permiſſion to depart to their reſpective homes, and a jaghire of ten lacks of rupees, excluding the town of Rampore, was offered to Ahumud Ali Khan, the infant ſon of the murdered Nuwaub; theſe terms, however reaſonable and conſonant to the liberal policy which actuated Sir Robert Abercrombie throughout the whole of theſe tranſactions, were, nevertheleſs, rejected, and many evaſions and extravagant demands were made on the part of the enemy.

On the 12th of November, however, Gholaum Mahomed, apprehenſive that the other chiefs would now make terms for themſelves, or probably (as appeared juſtified by the concluſion) actuated

by more deceptious motives, agreed to ſend letters to the Rohilla camp, with poſitive orders to his ſirdars to ſend out his family and treaſures. Syud Khan was intruſted with the miſſion, and he being detained by the Rohillas, and no anſwer returned, Omar Khan, with pretended anxiety to effect an accommodation, propoſed to viſit the camp, and doubted not of his prevailing over his countrymen to accede to terms.

To this Sir Robert Abercrombie, actuated by the humane deſire of terminating the war without a farther effuſion of blood, yielded his aſſent: Omar Khan went, but never returned.

It was now diſcovered, from various channels, that Gholaum Mahomed himſelf, notwithſtanding his profeſſions of obedience, was the ſole cauſe of the obſtinate delay of his countrymen, with whom he had kept up a ſecret correſpondence, and urged the chiefs, who were his creatures, not to accept of any terms in which his reſtoration to the jaghire was not a primary article; and he aſſured them, that being reſolute and unanimous in this point, they would inſure ſucceſs.

It was therefore determined to bring matters, at once, to an iſſue. In the evening of the 3d of December, an inſolent and contemptuous letter arrived in the Engliſh camp; in that letter, after repeating a ſeries of extravagant demands, they concluded with theſe remarkable words, "If, after this repreſentation, our requeſts be denied, it will be conſpicuous throughout the empire of Hindoſtaun, that

in the days of Uſuf Al Dowlah, aſſiſted by the Engliſh Company, the Rohilla nation was extirpated."

The drift of this letter was eaſily ſeen through, and at 12 o'clock on the ſame night, Gholaum Mahomed was ſent off under charge of a regiment of cavalry, who were ordered to eſcort him to Takoor Duwarah, a place about twenty miles diſtance from the camp: he was then delivered over to Colonel Baillie, of the 1ſt native battalion, who had been advanced to receive him, ſhould this meaſure be deemed neceſſary; that officer carried him on twenty miles farther, ſo that by ten o'clock next day he was forty miles diſtant from his friends. The next morning, after ſending in a proclamation to the Rohillas, which was declared to be final, offering pardon, if they would ſubmit, and notifying the vizir's intention to beſtow a jaghire upon the infant ſon of the deceaſed Nuwaub; but in the event of farther reſiſtance, they muſt expect to meet with exemplary puniſhment.

The Britiſh army then moved down to within a mile of the Rohilla intrenchments, and the outpoſts of both armies exchanged a few ſhots, but without any miſchief to either party.

The good effects of this proclamation were ſoon apparent: convinced that by the departure of their chief, all hope of his reſtoration was at an end, and that the Engliſh were determined to act with vigor, the Rohillas, at length, began to treat with ſincerity. A ceſſation of arms took place on the 5th; but there being ſuch a variety of claſhing intereſts to reconcile and to ſettle, and arrange the

ſelection of the new jaghire, it was not until the 7th inſtant the preliminary articles were ſigned*. On the 9th, the treaſures of the late

* Tranſlation of the preliminary engagement between the Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Aſof Jah Aſof Ul Dowla Yehiheh Khan Buhadre Huzzubber Jung, the Engliſh Company, and the Rohilla tribe.

ARTICLE I. When this preliminary engagement ſhall be executed, hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe between the Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Aſof Jah Buhadre and his allies, and the Rohilla army.

ART. II. The Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Aſof Jah Buhadre agrees that he has pardoned the family of the Nuwaub Fizoolah Khan, deceaſed, and their adherents, the faults which they have committed.

ART. III. The Rohilla army agree that they will give over, in depoſit, to the Company, whatever may remain of the treaſure of Fizoolah Khan, deceaſed.—That Gholaum Mahomed Khan has delivered an account of the treaſure which was left by the Nuwaub Fizoolah Khan at his death, to the period that he had charge of it. From that treaſure the ſum of 14,000 gold mohurs has been expended ſince Gholaum Mahomed Khan left the Rohilla camp, this being deducted, the balance is the ſum demanded.

ART. IV. The Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Aſof Jah Buhadre agrees, that he will beſtow on Ahomed Ally Khan, the grandſon of the Nuwaub Fizoolah Khan, deceaſed, mohuls in jaghire at the annual Jumma of ten lacks of rupees, and that the town of Rampore ſhall be a part of the ſaid jaghire; and as Ahomed Ally Khan is a minor, therefore Nuſſur Ulli Khan Buhadre, ſon of Abdoola Khan, deceaſed, ſhall be nominated the guardian of Ahmed Ally Khan, and the manager of the ſaid jaghire, until Ahomed Ally Khan ſhall arrive at the age of twenty one years.

ART. V. When the Rohilla army ſhall have given over the treaſure, as is expreſſed in the third article, the armies of the Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Aſof Jah Buhadre, and of the Engliſh Company, ſhall march from hence, and the Rohilla army ſhall diſperſe, and go wherever they think proper. Done at Putta Ghaut in the Engliſh camp, this 5th Jemmaud Ul Owul, 1209 Hijerah, December 7, 1794.

The ſeal of the Nuwaub Vizir Ul Mumalick Aſof Ul Dowla Aſof Jah Yehiheh Khan Buhadre Huzzubber Jung. (LS)

The ſeal of Mr. Geo. Frederick Cherry on the part of the Engliſh Company as guarantee to the above articles. (LS)

The ſeal of Nuſſur Ulli Khan. (LS)

Fizoolah Khan, amounting to three lacks and 80,000 gold mohurs, were delivered up to the Britiſh general; and on the following day, the armies commenced their march on their return. When the army arrived at Bereilly, it was announced, in orders, that his highneſs, the vizir, intended to preſent the troops with a donation of eleven lacks of rupees, part of the treaſure which had been ſent into the Engliſh camp, and was delivered over to the vizir; this was immediately done, by paying it into the hands of the reſident at Lucknow, and the remainder the vizir carried to Lucknow.

Thus terminated a revolution, which, though at the firſt appearance exhibited but a ſlight ſpeck in the political horizon of Hindoſtaun, had, nevertheleſs, by a variety of circumſtances and incidental cauſes during its progreſs, threatened to prove fatal to the intereſts of Great Britain, or, at leaſt, of giving a ſevere check to their authority. To hazard conjecture on an object of ſo great importance, may ſurely be deemed excuſeable, and if it ſhould ſerve to ſtimulate exertion, and animate the conduct of a wiſe and well-ordered government, to the preſervation and permanency of the valuable poſſeſſions of Great Britain in the eaſt, the obſervation will not have been made in vain. Of the preſent jaghire, as ſettled by the late treaty, it yet remains to ſpeak; it is ſituated in the fineſt part of Rohilcund, and the jaghire is bounded on the north by the town of Akberbad, on the ſouth by Millik, on the eaſt by Rooderpore, at the foot of the Almora hills, and on the weſt by the village of Safeny; it is in length about ſeventy miles, and thirty-ſix in breadth; the circumference of the jaghire is 291 miles, and contains about 500 populous villages; the ſoil, in common with the reſt of

Rohilcund, is a black rich loam, interſperſed in ſome places with red earth; the moſt fruitful parts are the center and ſouth-weſt boundary. The face of the country throughout preſents a delightful view of large groves of mangoe trees, agreeably diverſified with gentle declivities and aſcents alternately. This valuable jaghire is watered by ſeveral rivers, beſides ſmaller ſtreams, which contribute to fertilize and embelliſh it. Among the principal are the Ramgonga and Coſſillah, which have been deſcribed in the former part of this work.

The jaghire, though ſo highly favoured by nature, has, nevertheleſs, been much aſſiſted by the induſtrious ſpirit of its inhabitants, aided by the wiſe and benevolent inſtitutions of the late Fizoolah Khan.

Throughout his whole territory, that prince cauſed aqueducts to be made, which traverſe the corn fields in all directions; they are ſufficiently broad and deep. In the eaſtern confines, near the Almora hills, the inhabitants avail themſelves of the numerous ſtreams which flow from the mountains, by making artificial dams; and, at the proper ſeaſons, inundate their lands, which is of particular benefit to the early crops. All theſe advantages give the country the appearance of an highly cultivated garden.

Sugar cane, rice, and tobacco, are produced in the greateſt abundance, and of the beſt quality; the canes are from eight to ten feet high, and the crops of wheat, barley, and various kinds of grain, are nothing inferior to the moſt cultivated parts of Hindoſtaun; the

principal manufacture of this jaghire is coarſe cotton cloth, which is exported acroſs the Ganges into the Doo Ab, and other parts of the vizir's dominions, as are likewiſe great quantities of grain, ſugar, and tobacco.

Rampore, which is the capital both of the former and preſent jaghire, is a large town ſituated on the weſtern bank of the Coſilla river; it is about four miles in circumference, and ſurrounded by a thick hedge of bamboo, within which are mud fortifications, totally incapable of reſiſtance. The town is large, but the ſtreets, as common throughout Aſia, are narrow. There is, however, a very good bazar, and likewiſe a moſque, both of them the work of Fizoolah Khan; during the life-time of that chief, Rampore was ſuppoſed to contain 100,000 inhabitants; but ſince the late revolution, great numbers of the Rohillas, in conſequence of the reduced eſtabliſhment, have quitted the place, and retired with their families in queſt of a maintenance.

The preſent jaghire is properly divided into two parts, Rampore, called alſo Muſtafabad, and Shah-Abad. The late treaty fixed the valuation of the revenues at 10 lacks and 70,000 rupees per annum; but the above eſtimate was made from a comparative ſtatement of the Jumma, or general collection of twenty-two lacks. There is reaſon to ſuppoſe that the part now occupied by the Rohillas, is capable of yielding a much larger ſum; and if the induſtrious ſpirit of its inhabitants obtains permanency, it will continue to increaſe in value annually *.

* During a ſurvey which was made by Captain James Mouatt, of the Bengal engi-

As a concluſive remark, it may be obſerved, that in whatever direction we traverſe the dominions of the late Fizoolah Khan, the ſame induſtry and attention to cultivation is exhibited; and every generous mind will doubtleſs join in a cordial wiſh, that no ambitious or ferocious chief will again diſturb its internal peace and tranquillity.

neers, by order of government, in the years 1795-6, to aſcertain the boundaries of the jaghire, the author, who accompanied that gentleman, had an opportunity of a perſonal inſpection of every part of it, and from his inquiries and converſations with many intelligent natives, he has been enabled to preſent the above documents.

APPENDIX, III.

نامه جناب معلي ركاب حضرت صاحب عالم مرزا جهاندارشاه بهادر براي كپتي اراي ممالک فرنک

يامن هو حمده اول المصا صد الحلته الحليلته الحسبام ولا فتاح به من اثار دوله السلطنته السلطايه الغطيمه البعطام انو ار مد سک من مطالع الله هس و الله فاق طو الع و اشدار قدرتک من السمک الي السماک لوامع استنالک ان تصاي ماي محمد يشک ورسولک الكريم و الله و اصحابه العظام الذ بن هم اساسن الصراتا المشصتبم اما بعسه براي عالم ارا اي جهان بان فريدون فر داور داد كرباد شاه عادل معدلت كستر ملک بازل افتاب نظر سپهر چشم مهر خدم دوست نواز دشمن كداز راست پٹند كج بر انداز سكدز و سشاه حمشيد كلاه كيخسرو پناه خور شيد نكاه كيو ان ايوان بر حسپن امشان عموي مكان خديو كامكار خسرو نامد ار نوشيرو ان زنچر دار سپهر اقتد از مه خد متكار صاحب دانش و فرهنک زبده اكليل داد رنک بادشاه ممالک فرنک داراشكوه راست بزوه اسمان كرياس نيک اساس حق شناس مالک طوق و تاج شناسنده باج وحراج كهف السلا طين ملجاي الخو اقين لا يح وسا طع باد كه ابن نياز مند سابق ازين بر سبل تفصيل مشروحا بدر كاه كپتي پناه احوال اختلال ممالک وسعت اباد هندوستان مينو مكان و اختلاف اراي اراكين دولت دامراي عظام زشت خوي مفسدان كوته انديش وشورش غاديان بد كيش دو رود خود پش عماد الدوله مستر حشتن بهادر براي استمد اد موافق ارشاد افتاب نهاد حضرت خاقان جهان خديو زمين اسمان خسم و كيهان خد ادند كشور ستان داراب دربان ملک پاسبان سبان سرير فلک سر پر جم جاه سلا طين پناه ظل اله مروج احكام خراج مهر شپهر عظمت و عروج طوع عسلم و طبل انعام رحمت حقد بر كانه انام انپه قدرت كابي الهي بر روي

APPENDIX, III.

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht Jehaundar Shah, eldeſt Son of Shah-Aulum, to his Majeſty George III. King of Great Britain, mentioned in Page 157.

EXORDIUM *—INVOCATION TO THE DEITY.

" O THOU whoſe praiſe is the firſt object of the light and " ſplendour of dignified nature, with the celebration of which the " thoughts and actions of the moſt exalted monarchs ought ever to " commence; the dazzling brightneſs of whoſe purity emanates like " the ſun over the face of the whole creation, and the myſterious " power of whoſe mighty arm is univerſally diſplayed from the " loweſt earth to the higheſt heavens. Counſel and aſſiſt in thy " mercy, thy choſen prophet, Mahomed, whom thou haſt appointed " the meſſenger of thy truth to the children of men, and ſtrengthen " and confirm his righteous deſcendants, and followers and compa- " nions, who are the foundation of the right way!

" To the moſt illuſtrious prince, adorning the univerſe, in dig-

* All the letters from princes and great men throughout Aſia are introduced with a ſimilar exordium. For the Inſha or formula, the reader may conſult the Ayeen Akbary of Mr. Gladwin, or Dr. Balfour's ingenious tranſlation of the Inſha Herkerun.

زمین اوسمان اکاهي مسند اراي دین درد و ساده امر و ز قو انین ملک دملت باد
شاه ابحم شاه سلطان حن اکاه شمع شبنان ضاحب قراني مصباح زجاجه دود
بان کور کاني شاه فلک قدر کو اکب‌ساه کز علش مچه بود مهر و ماه فطب
کهم رکن سهر ایان خرد اقطاب زین درنان اظهارسا خته مدت حهارسال که با
ین غرلبت پش صاحبان انکریز و برادر غرپز نولب وزیر متو قف مانده مز صدا
داد از جناب ان کشور کشاي کپتي اراي باند و از حشمت و ایالت مر تبت شو
کت دایارت مترلت افعت دوز ارت درحت طلب استد وازند ماي کمپي انکریز
بهادر منمبود و دوبن اشاهد فور فتور و فساد از اطراف و اکناف دورود مر هته و
سندهیا پتیل که ریس روس الله شرار بود درحصور ساطع النور با عث مزید شورش
شور بختان فتنه پر داز و بغاه کو نه بین باهین نوین تازه تر شد و هر چند از
در کاه خلا یق نپاه با سر دار مر کوز بنصایح هوش افزا و کلات دولت پرا ارشاد
قد سي پسناد براي تا لیف قلوب کافه برایا و حفاظت عامه له عایا که دوایع به
ابع ایزدي اند و ابادي ممالک محرو سه پویست ان با طل کیش ناعاقبت اندیش
اند رز کمپامانند خسروانی اویزه کوش باطل نیوش نکرده باهرکس طرح مخا
صمت افکند حتي که بارا جها که از قدیم اشا طین واراکین دولت عظمي بودند
سمیا سر امد نونپان عظام دفد ده فد وبان عقیاب فبرحام سري مهاراج ادوهراج را
جي نکرسو اي پرتاب سنکه بهادر که نسبت و کلاي بضد و پخاص لایف للکر
مت و لاا اختصاص راسخ ابر هان عمده اراکین عظام مهارا حه بحي سنکه دارد
و از قدیم الله یام قرابت کونه و صلت باین حاند ان عالشبان از اسلاف خواقین
عالیمقد ار و شاهان ذوي الا قتد ار دارند طرح پیچش پحا افکنده مصدر بغي و
طغیان کشت بالا خره لسب با خورده از اوج عظمت و مختتاري حضورسا طع الوز
که بوکالت مطلق سر افراز شده بود به حضیض بز یمت و کرداب نذلت جایض
خا کسر کشت از و مر این انقلاب تازه سر کشي با غیان زیاده از اند ازه کشت
بکطرف هنکامه افا غنه ملاعنه نمک حرام پسر ضا بنه خان بد فرجام غلام
قادر پداد کر که پدرش علي الد وام از خلات ذمیمه ذاتي شورش فطري درسر بیمغز
داشت و بکطرف دیکر مفسد ان با طل ثیرده انقاد نیر ان خرابي انقدر زبانه
کشیده که تا بپایه تخت هند و ستان جنت مکان رسیده و خاب کبو ان
ان حضرت ظل سبحانه مغیس لغیس متو جه اطفاي این اتش ذو زان اند و شقجات

" nity like *Feridoon**, the monarch diſtributing juſtice over the world,
" cheriſher of friends, and dreadful avenger of enemies, whoſe
" throne is reſplendent as that of Alexander, and magnificent as
" *Gemſhid* †, of aſpect brilliant as the ſun, and of auſpicious fortune,
" the moſt exalted King of England, great as *Darius* ‡, wiſe, mag-
" nanimous, lord of royal inſignia, who collects tribute from mighty
" kingdoms, *be it known and underſtood;* Prior to this addreſs, your
" ſuppliant has in the moſt explicit manner repreſented to the throne
" the aſylum of the univerſe, that the diſturbances which have ariſen
" within the empire of Hindoſtaun, the diſſenſions among the no-
" bility and Omrahs of high renown, the rebellious deſigns of the
" wicked, plots, treaſons and conſpiracies of diſobedient ſubjects,
" have been related to you by order of the imperial preſence our re-
" nowned ſovereign and venerable parent, (the Khakan § of the
" world, the bright taper of devotion of the great lord of the con-
" junction (Sahib Keraun ‖), and reſplendent torch of the family of
" (Goorgaun ¶) to the Nuwaub of exalted dignity, Mr. Haſtings,
" Behauder, governor-general, that he might come to the aid and
" aſſiſtance of the royal family.

" In this expectation for a period of four years we (the prince)

* A king of Perſia famous for his juſtice.

† A king of Perſia who is related to have built the palace of Perſepolis.

‡ Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes or Kiſht-Aſp.

§ Khakan, a Scythian or Mogul title, according to hiſtorians firſt adopted by the great Timoor on his conqueſt of Tartary, and ſubſequently aſſumed by all his poſterity who ſat on the throne of Hindoſtaun.

‖ Sahib Keraun. From an auſpicious combination of the planets at the time of his nativity, or according to others, on his acceſſion to the regal dignity.

¶ Goorgaun—the family from whom Timoor was deſcended.

خاص کرامت اختصاص علي التو اتر و تو الي بر اي اين نياز مند در کاه الهي و ز
برادر غرير نواب وزير و صاحبان انکريز و حشمت کورنر بهادر شفتن طلب حصوز
بصاهين دل نشين که زهره سنک از اون اب شود بتا کيد اکيد تمام عز ايراد
يافشد هر چند حشمت و مرتبت کورنر بهادر به ابرام الا کلام ابلاغ وارشادات قد سي
نموده شد کورنر بهادر بسبب مجوري که از طرف ان ولايت پشه عموي مکان
حکم پش قدمي نسبت محبور بودند ليکن برادر غريز لواب وزير هسم اقدلم برين
امر نمودند وا تسال حکم کيتي مطاع افتاب سماع که ظر لوازم افرزار سته بي
حکم ان عموي مکان سجا اين نيازمند لا جرم کمر همت بطاق غز ميت مستحکم
بسته و نظر بر امداد غيبي و تا ميد اب لا ريبي و تو فيقات يزد داني و تايد ات اسماني
بوده درين طوفان طلاطم خيز و عمان بلا ايکز رخشن حرات بميد ان غرهيت
متو کلا علي الله امکذه مضمار قصب السغ از ميا من اقبال بي زوال شانشاهي مي
ربايم و عازم ان ناحيه باد صف قلت اعوان و الضار هسنم اکر درين وقت ان
اونک اراي جهان و کشو رکشاي دوران حکلم محکلم به کورنر بهادر درباره لضرت
او لياي دولت ابد مدت و رفن حصنو رپر نور وامد اد و تيه کو ته بنيان کايد بعيد از
اين فتوت و مرد مي و مروت نخو اهد بود خصا که يو سيه فلي لله دام ارظالصه عليه
شاهان سپهر اقتد ار و خو افين کردون مدار اين حرکات که با عث رفاه کافه
عباد وا من و امان بلادو نيکو نامي درين روزکار پمدار باشد بسضه شهود پيوسته
خصو صا حميت اخوت درقت مر حمت جنست بنو عي که حضرت حود بر ولت ان خلا
فت پناه را بجاي برادر مشفق شد و اين نياز مند ان سلطنت دستکاه را عموي
مکان پش خود قرار داده براي اين امر کواه عادل وازل ولا يت است افتاب عظمت وا
جلال از اوج کردون عزت و اقبال لا مع باو

" have reſided with our friends the Engliſh, and our brother dear
" as life the vizir of the empire, and during that period we have
" not failed to ſolicit from the counſellors of the Eaſt-India Com-
" pany the reſtoration of our imperial authority, and the re-eſtabliſh-
" ment of our paternal dominions.

" During this interval, from the relaxed ſtate of the government,
" and, in conſequence of the arrival of the deceitful Marhattas, and of
" *Sindiah* (who is chief of the ſeditious) thoſe diſturbances and rebel-
" lions increaſing in tenfold proportion have augmented the diſtreſs
" of our auguſt parent; and notwithſtanding the wholeſome advice
" and ſalutary council given from the throne to the aforeſaid chief to
" conciliate the attachment of the ancient nobility, and extend protec-
" tion to the diſtreſſed peaſantry (a conduct which, under divine fa-
" vour, gives ſecurity and permanency to empire) that ungrateful
" chief, regardleſs of the royal will, has eſtabliſhed himſelf in con-
" tinued and unvaried oppoſition, until, having by his improper con-
" duct exaſperated the Rajahs and princes of our empire, and particu-
" larly the moſt illuſtrious prince of Jynaghur, the pillar of fidelity,
" Maharajah Pertaub Sing, as likewiſe the ruler of Joudpore, both of
" whom are allied by blood to the royal family. Thoſe warlike chiefs,
" uniting to puniſh the ſource of oppreſſion, gave him battle, and de-
" feated him, ſo that, deprived of his office of Ameer Al Omrah, or
" chief of nobles, he fell at once from the ſummit of imperial favour,
" and was precipitated into the abyſs of annihilation and contempt.

" Amidſt theſe viciſſitudes of fortune, the machinations of the re-
" bellious increaſed to an extent almoſt immeaſurable.

" On one ſide, Gholaum Caudir Khan (ſon of the deteſted Afghaun " Zabita Khan, whoſe whole life was employed in conſpiring againſt " the ſafety of the ſtate) has erected the ſtandard of rebellion. His " example encouraging others, the diſturbances became ſo formi- " dable as to penetrate even to the threſhold of the imperial palace, " ſo that our auguſt parent was neceſſitated to adopt the moſt ſtre- " nuous efforts to extinguiſh this deſtructive fire.

" For this purpoſe, he diſpatched repeated and urgent commands " to this your ſuppliant, as likewiſe to the governor-general of high " dignity (Earl Cornwallis) as to our dear brother the vizir of the " empire, to come to the aſſiſtance of the imperial court.

" But it appearing that on the arrival of the imperial demand, " neither the governor-general or the vizir of the empire had re- " ceived your majeſty's commands to that effect, they were of " conſequence conſtrained to withhold the aſſiſtance required.

" We, therefore, girding the loins of circumſpection with the belt " of reſolution, and caſting our eyes towards future events, and the " mercies of divine providence in this ſtormy ocean of our diſtreſs, " rely on your majeſty for the reſtoration of our authority; and if " your majeſty, who adorns the throne of the univerſe, will graciouſly " condeſcend to iſſue your high commands to the governor-general to " effect the reſtoration of the royal authority in theſe kingdoms, " puniſh our rebellious ſubjects, and re-eſtabliſh the auguſt houſe of " Timoor, ſuch conduct will be perfectly conſiſtent with the dictates " of generoſity and the uſages of ſovereign princes; and finally, the

" reſult of this kind interpoſition by eſtabliſhing the repoſe of the peo-
" ple of God, and affording peace and plenty to a diſtracted empire,
" will render your Majeſty's name renowned among the princes of
" the earth.

" As our honoured parent, his imperial majeſty, bound by every
" tie of gratitude, regards your majeſty as a brother dearer than life,
" ſo this your ſuppliant hopes to be honoured by the endearing appel-
" lation of your nephew.

" For the reſt, may the ſun of your majeſty's grandeur and pro-
" ſperity be perpetually reſplendent in the ſphere of glory and auſpi-
" cious fortune."

The above letter was written at the commencement of the year 1787, previous to the prince's departure from Lucknow to Delhi the laſt time; though the author has not been able to learn from the moſt diligent inquiry whether it was ever ſent to England, but as the ſubject-matter of it contains a faithful picture of the wretched ſtate of the royal family at that period, he has deemed it worthy of inſertion.

To Major Ouſely, whoſe acquiſitions in eaſtern literature have already ſo much benefited the Public, the author begs leave to offer his hearty thanks for the uſe of the elegant Perſian type of the above letter, without which aſſiſtance he ſhould have ſuſtained much inconvenience.

APPENDIX, IV.

Elegy written by SHAH-AULUM *after the Loſs of his Sight.*

صرصر حادثه برخاست بي خواري ما
داد بر باد سروبرگ جهانداري ما.

آفتاب فلک رفعت شاهي بودم
برد درشام زوال آه سپه کاري ما

چشم ماکنده شد ازجورفلک بهترشد
که نه نبنيم که کند غيرجهان واري ما

داد افغان بچه شوکت شاهي برباد
کيت جزدات مزه که کند ياري ما

کرده بوديم گناهي که سزايش اين بود
هست اميد که بخشد کنه کاري ما

کرد سي سال نظارت که مرا داد بر باد
زود تريافت تلافي ستمکاري ما

ناريتان پري چهره که همزم بودند
ست جز محل مبارک بهپر ستاري ما

حق طفلان که زسي سال فراهم کردند
کرده تاراج نمودند سبکساري ما

عهد وپيمان بميان داده نمودند دغا
محليان خوب نمودند وفاداري ما

شهر داد يم به انعي بچه پرورد يم
عاقبت کشت بجوزپي خونخواري ما

قوم افغان و مغليه همه بازي دادند
بسکه کشتند مجوز کرفتاري ما

آن کدازاده همدان که بدوزخ برود
باني جورو ستم شد بدل افکاري ما

کل محمد که زمروان بشرارت کم نست
چه قدر که و کالت نبکرفتاري ما

هم اله يار وسليمان و بدل بيک لعين
هر سه بتند کمر بهر دل ازاري ما

شاه يتمور که داروسر نسبت بامن
زود با شد که باید بمبدد کاري ما

مادهوجي سيندهيه فرزند جکرنبدمن
هست مصروف تلافي ستمکاري ما

راچه وراووزميد ارا ميروچه فقير
حيف باشد که نسازد بغمخواري ما

حال ما کشته بتر هچو امامان زيرند
کرد تقد يرازل روزي ما خواري ما

بودجانکاه زروسال جهان هچومرض
دفع از فضل الهي شده بماري ما

آصف الدوله وانکريزکه دلسوزمن اند
چه عجب که بنمايند مدد کاري ما

آفتاب از فلک امروز تبا هي ديدي
باز فرواد هد ايزد سروسرداري ما

APPENDIX, IV.

Free Tranſlation, in Verſe, of an Elegy compoſed by Shah-Aulum after the loſs of his Sight, as quoted in chapter 10th, page 180.

* WHERE with bright pomp the ſtately domes ariſe,
In yon dark tower an aged monarch lies,
Forlorn, dejected, blind, replete with woes,
In tears his venerable aſpect ſhews;
As through the lonely courts I bent my way,
Sounds ſtruck my ear, which ſaid, or ſeem'd to ſay,

" Lo, the dire tempeſt gathering from afar,
" In dreadful clouds has dimm'd the imperial ſtar;
" Has to the winds, and broad expanſe of heaven,
" My ſtate, my royalty, and kingdom given;
" Time was, O King, when clothed in power ſupreme,
" Thy voice was heard, and nations hail'd the theme;
" Now ſad reverſe, for ſordid luſt of gold,
" By traitorous wiles, thy throne and empire ſold.

* I have thought the firſt ſix lines, which are merely introductory, and cannot be accounted any part of the original, to be better calculated to give ſatisfaction to the reader, than an abrupt commencement of the elegy, as in the king's own words.

" See yon fierce Afghan* with intemperate haſte,
" Gleams like a meteor through the palace waſte,
" Frowning, terrific, threatens with a grave
" Thy progeny, O Timoor, good and brave;
" Yet, not the treatment from th' inhuman foe,
" Not all my kingly ſtate in duſt laid low,
" Can to this breaſt ſuch torturing pain impart,
" As does, O Nazir†, thy deteſted art;
" But tho' too late, the day of reckoning come,
" The tyrant whom thou ſerv'dſt has ſeal'd thy doom,
" Has hurled thee, rebel, headlong from the height
" Of power abuſed, and done thy ſovereign right:
" Chaſte partners of my bed, and joys ſerene,
" Once my delight, but now how changed the ſcene!
" Condemned with me in plaintive ſtrains to mourn,
" The ſcanty pittance from our offspring torn!
" The viper, whom with foſtering care I nurſt,
" Deep in my boſom plants his ſting accurſt;
" Riots in blood, and heedleſs of his word,
" Pants for the ruin of his ſovereign lord.
" Nobles ingrate‡, upheld by power and pride,
" To whom our favours never were denied;
" See to what miſery and dire diſgrace,
" Your perfidy accurſed, has brought a royal race:

* Gholaum Caudir Khan.

† Munſoor Ali Khan, ſuperintendant of the houſehold.

‡ The Mogul nobility who abandoned the king on the approach of the rebels.

" Bright northern ſtar from Cabul's realms advance,
" Imperial Timoor* poize the avenging lance.
" On theſe vile traitors quick deſtruction pour,
" Redreſs my wrongs, and kingly rights reſtore;
" Thee too, O Sindiah, illuſtrious chief,
" Who once didſt promiſe to afford relief;
" Thee I invoke, exert thy generous aid,
" And o'er their heads high wave the avenging blade.
" And ye, O faithful pillars of my ſtate,
" By friendſhip bound, and by my power elate,
" Haſten, O Aſuf†, and ye Engliſh chiefs‡,
" Nor bluſh to ſooth an injured monarch's griefs;
" But ſtay my ſoul, unworthy rage diſown,
" Learn to ſuſtain the loſs of ſight and throne;
" Learn that imperial pride, and ſtar-clad power,
" Are but the fleeting pageants of an hour;
" In the true crucible of dire diſtreſs,
" Purged of alloy, thy ſorrows ſoon ſhall ceaſe;
" What! though the ſun of empire and command,
" Shorn of its beams, enlightens not the land;

* Timoor Shah, king of Cabul, on his father, the Abdallee's, laſt viſit to Delhi, was married to a princeſs of the royal family, which gives his ſon, Zimaun Shah, a claim to the throne of Hindoſtaun.

† Aſuf Al Dowla, vizir of the empire.

‡ It is much to be lamented, that the ſtate of politics at Calcutta could not, at that time, admit of government interfering on the occaſion—for ſuch was the influence of the Britiſh name, that had the detachment ſtationed at Anopſhire, only marched out of their cantonments, the brutal tyrant would have deſiſted, and the king's misfortunes been averted.

" Some happier day, a providential care
" Again may renovate the falling ſtar;
" Again, O king, raiſe up thy illuſtrious race,
" Cheer thy ſad mind, and cloſe thy days in peace*."

* It may not be amiſs to remark, that ſeveral MS. copies of the above elegy having been circulated throughout India, various readings may have occurred. The one here preſented, was obtained by the author whilſt at Delhi, and therefore appeared to him the moſt authentic; but he thinks himſelf bound to acknowledge he has read a poetic verſion of the ſame elegy, which appeared in the European Magazine for May, 1797. ſaid to be written by Captain Symes, from whoſe reſearches into the hiſtory and antiquities of the intereſting kingdom of Ava, the public may expect to derive much uſeful and inſtructive information.

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